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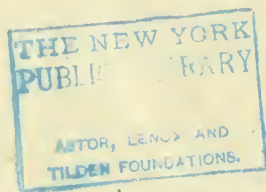
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General Anthony Wayne.

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LIFE AND SERVICES

OF

GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.

FOUNDED

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SON, COL. ISAAC WAYNE.

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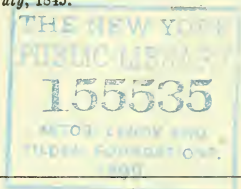
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NOTE.

The compiler is mainly indebted to the pages of *The Casket*, (a monthly periodical, now discontinued, but published during several years in Philadelphia,) for the matter of the little book here placed before the public, treating of the Life and Services of Gen. Anthony Wayne. In the volumes of the Casket for 1829 and 1830, will be found a biographical notice, (running through several numbers,) of this illustrious patriot, soldier and statesman of the American Revolution ;—the matter for which was obtained as mentioned upon the title-page of this work. Much of the documentary material in the Casket has been appropriated—a sketch of Wayne, vide vol. iv. of *Sparks' American Biography*, is occasionally quoted—and various histories and annals have been consulted—all of which are duly acknowledged.

Philadelphia, July, 1845.



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LIFE OF ANTHONY WAYNE.

CHAPTER I.

The ancestors of Wayne.—His grandfather at the battle of the Boyne.—Emigration of the family to Pennsylvania in 1722.—Birth of Anthony Wayne.—Some account of him at school.—He opens an office as a land surveyor.—Dr. Franklin becomes his friend.—The Nova Scotia agency. Wayne's industry.—His marriage in 1767.—He settles upon his farm in Chester county.—Takes an active interest in the controversy between the Colonies and Great Britain.—A member of the Pennsylvania Convention, of the Legislature, and of the Committee of Safety.—His patriotism.—He raises a regiment, of which Congress gives him the command, and he proceeds to join the northern army.—Battle of the Three Rivers.—Wayne's gallantry.—He is wounded, but ably conducts the retreat to Ticonderoga—has the command at this place from November, 1776 to May, 1777, when he joins the main army under Washington.

THE name of Wayne at once brings to the mind of every American, acquainted with the history of his country, the image of a brave, enterprising, and active officer, ready of will, and prompt to execute; impatient of restraint, and eager to attack his enemy sword in hand.

The ancestors of Wayne were English people, re-

siding for many generations in Yorkshire, but Anthony Wayne, the grandfather of the subject of our present notice, removed his family into Wicklow county, in Ireland, during the reign of Charles II., and established himself as an agriculturalist in that country. He occasionally executed some civil as well as military offices.

Upon the death of Charles II., in 1685, his brother, the Duke of York, ascended the throne as James II. James professed the Catholic faith, whilst the great body of the nation, nobility, merchants, and the people at large, were Protestants. Rigorous laws were in force against Catholics, and the efforts of James to ameliorate the condition of this portion of his subjects, roused the jealousy and alarm of those professing the reformed religion. The leading statesmen of the day concerted together, drew up a paper, to which they appended their signatures, inviting William, Prince of Orange, (husband of James' eldest daughter, Mary,) to invade England with an armed force, and whose standard they solemnly pledged their honors to join. William, accordingly, collected a force of his Dutch subjects, embarked in a small fleet, landed upon the coast of England, marched towards London, and was every where met by the most influential men of the kingdom. James' second daughter, Anne, escaped from the palace, (Whitehall,) and repaired to the camp of her brother-in-law. Deserted by his children, and finding himself odious to the citizens of London, James fled from Whitehall, got on board a vessel, and escaped to France. William entered London in triumph, and was invested with the crown, jointly with his wife—until whose death, this epoch of English history is known as the reign of William and Mary. This memorable revolution took place in the year 1688.

Two years subsequently, James, assisted by the King of France, and depending greatly upon the favorable disposition of the Catholic population of Ireland towards him, landed upon that island, with the purpose of regaining the sceptre of Great Britain. William promptly encountered him, and the celebrated battle of the Boyne took place on the 1st of July, 1690, in which eighteen hundred of the Irish Catholics were slaughtered. James was among the first to flee from the ground. He lost his hat in his hurry in climbing on board one of the ships of the French fleet—sailed—reached France again, and remained there until his death.

In this battle, Anthony Wayne, the elder, commanded a company of dragoons in the service of King William, and fought with signal bravery throughout the hottest of the contest. He was a Protestant, and was deeply imbued with the republican principles advocated by the early Puritans. He was at this time about thirty years of age. He continued to reside in Ireland for many years after the battle of the Boyne; but, eventually, became dissatisfied with the social habits of the Irish people, and, when over sixty years of age, formed the resolution of migrating to the New World. Of an energetic and enterprising nature, he at once made his arrangements, crossed the Atlantic, arriving safely at the port of Philadelphia, in the year 1722, with his family, consisting of four sons, each of whom had been well educated in Ireland, their native country. Old Anthony, in the year 1724, with the view of settling his sons comfortably around him, purchased an extensive real estate in the county of Chester, and province of Pennsylvania, assigning to each a part. His youngest son, Isaac Wayne, father of the American general, was a man of strong mind, great industry and

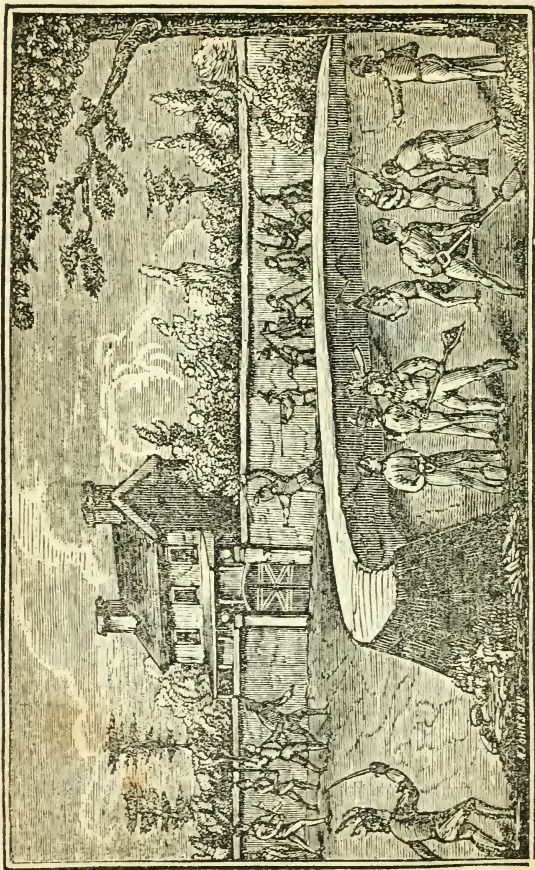
enterprise. He frequently represented the county of Chester in the provincial legislature, and, in the capacity of a commissioned officer, repeatedly distinguished himself in expeditions against the Indians. He was at all times celebrated for his patriotism, and admired for the uprightness of his conduct. After a long life of usefulness to his country, to his family, and to his friends, he died in 1774, leaving one son and two daughters.

His only son, *Anthony Wayne*, whose public career sheds so much lustre on American arms and character, was born in the township of Eastown, Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the 1st day of January, 1745. His father was desirous of bringing the boy up to the business of a farmer, but he soon discovered that the labors of the field did not suit his son's propensities, and, inasmuch as he had the means of indulging the bent of the lad's genius, he resolved to afford him an opportunity of pursuing such studies as inclination might suggest. And for this purpose he was placed under the tuition of his uncle, Gilbert Wayne, a man of considerable erudition and mental acquirements, and who was a country schoolmaster.

After some considerable time had been spent with his uncle, it appears that young Anthony's progress in learning was far from being encouraging. Indeed, his uncle had formed a very unfavorable opinion of the boy's capacity for acquiring scholastic knowledge, as is evident by the following letter that he wrote to the boy's father. "I really suspect that parental affection blinds you, and that you have mistaken your son's capacity. What he may be best qualified for, I know not. One thing I am certain of, he will never make a scholar. He may perhaps make a soldier. He has already distracted the brains of two-thirds of the boys

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Wayne's military pastimes at school.

(To face page 11.)

under my charge, by rehearsals of battles, sieges, etc. They exhibit more the appearance of Indians and Harlequins than students.—'This one decorated with a cap of many colors; others habited in coats as variegated, like Joseph's of old—some laid up with broken heads and black eyes. During noon, in place of the usual games of amusements, he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing, etc. I must be candid with you, brother Isaac—unless Anthony pays more attention to his books, I shall be under the painful necessity of dismissing him from the school.'*

It will readily be inferred that young Wayne's father was not a little mortified by this account of his son, and at the next interview he not only reprimanded him severely, but threatened to withdraw him from school, and consign him to the lowest and most irksome labors of the farm. Knowing the decisive character of his father, and dreading lest the threat should be put in force, Anthony resolved to give up, for the present at least, all his military schemes, and vigorously to prosecute his studies. Returning to the school of his uncle, he assiduously applied himself to mathematics, and persevered so effectually, that, at the end of eighteen months, his uncle acknowledged he could instruct him no farther, and advised his brother to send the lad to Philadelphia for the purpose of acquiring an academical education.

Anthony, having reconciled his uncle, and gratified the hopes of his father, was, at the age of sixteen, en-

* Here we have a striking similarity between the school pastimes of Anthony Wayne and Napoleon Bonaparte—the latter, as we are historically informed, engaged his fellow scholars in building forts of snow, ranging them into besiegers and besieged, and attacking and defending with snowballs.

tered as a pupil in the Philadelphia Academy, where he remained until his eighteenth year. So great was his attachment to mathematical science, and so eager his zeal to reach its summit, that the united solicitations of his friends and tutors could not prevail on him to devote more time to the dead languages than was merely sufficient for the acquirement of their rudiments.—After leaving the academy, Wayne took up his residence in his native county, the settlement and improvement of which, though as yet in their infancy, were daily advancing. At this time a surveyor of competent abilities was much needed in the adjustment of controversies, on account of disputed and ill-defined lines, and the location of roads for public and private accommodation; he therefore commenced the pursuit of surveying, and also devoted a portion of his time to practical astronomy and engineering. The manuscripts which he has left behind him on those subjects have attracted the notice and elicited the applause of distinguished professors.

Having opened an office as a land surveyor, he soon found himself surrounded by a lucrative business. At this period, the peace of 1763 between France and Great Britain, gave to the latter the undisputed authority over the island of Nova Scotia, and it was consequently the policy of her government to colonize this new portion of her dominions. Inducements were held out, and capitalists residing in the older provinces, associated themselves together for the purpose of speculation. A company of this kind was formed in Pennsylvania in 1764, consisting of merchants and moneyed men, of whom Dr. Franklin, that patron of science and learned men, was one. Admiring the gentlemanly manners of young Mr. Wayne, and highly appreciating his talents, Franklin brought him forward as a fit

person for the agent of the company, in which capacity the services of a capable person were necessary; a person "who should visit the territory offered for settlement; inspect the soil, as regarded the purpose of agriculture; ascertain the means of commercial facility connected with it; and, under these several views, locate the tract to be granted. It will be thought highly creditable to Mr. Wayne, then in his twenty-first year, that, of the many applicants for this agency, he should have been chosen on the special recommendation of so discriminating a judge as Dr. Franklin."*

In the month of March, 1765, Mr. Wayne embarked for Nova Scotia. The agency for this new population company was both responsible and arduous. Warrants were to be taken out, correct surveys were to be made and returned, patents to be procured for the lands, etc.; in addition to which actual settlements were to be effected. So ardent was Wayne's zeal for the accomplishment of his mission, *i. e.*, the objects of it, that he permitted nothing within his control to impede its progress. About the middle of December, having executed to the letter the views of the company thus far, he returned to Pennsylvania, and laid before his friends and employers charts of the lands taken up, with a detailed account of his proceedings—all of which afforded the most perfect satisfaction to the company.

Early in the spring of 1766, he again repaired to Nova Scotia, in order to complete the task so advantageously commenced in the preceding year, taking with him many settlers, implements of husbandry, provisions, etc. Late in the autumn of that year he returned to Philadelphia, having, in a manner highly honorable to himself, and gratifying to the company,

* Sparks' American Biography, vol. iv. page 6.

accomplished the various objects of his agency. And the company, having, through his indefatigability, succeeded in planting their new colony, continued him as an agent to extend and improve it.* Although he did not revisit the settlement, he directed the concern, so long as it retained the character of an association. The correspondence which remains on this subject proves him to have been an able negotiator, and his numerous field notes, charts, and astronomical observations, exhibit accuracy as well as great taste in execution. The labor bestowed on this infant establishment promised a rich reward to the association, but the active and glorious part which Wayne and his companions espoused in behalf of their country, previous to, and during the revolutionary war, deprived them of enjoying the fruits of their enterprise in Nova Scotia.

In the year 1767, Wayne married a daughter of Benjamin Penrose, an eminent Philadelphia merchant; and the already hostile position assumed between the colonies and the mother country, having put an end to his duties as agent for the company, he repaired to Chester county, and established himself on a farm. From this period until the year 1774, his time was occupied in agriculture and practical surveying. Such was his celebrity as a surveyor, that he was called for on all important and intricate cases, both in his own county and those adjoining. And many of the provincial and other principal roads in Pennsylvania have felt the impress of his chain and compass. During the above

* "And, what may be considered as redounding still more to his credit, that, after a full trial of his qualifications, the additional trial of superintending the settlements actually made, should have been continued, in him, until, in 1767, the menacing controversy between Great Britain and her colonies put an end to the enterprise."—*Sparks' Biography*.

period—from 1767 to '74—he was elected to various county offices, and at the same time he took a leading part among patriots in preparing for the struggle that, (as day after day made more evident,) was about to take place between the provinces and Great Britain.

For the purpose of raising revenue, the British parliament passed resolutions imposing oppressive duties on the trade of the colonies. These acts were received in America with a general feeling of indignation. "Treated hitherto with comparative kindness and indulgence, the people could not fail to perceive that such measures were harsh and coercive. They were, in fact, not less impolitic than unkind; for it could not reasonably be expected that those communities, who had been left to grow in the free air of independence in childhood, and had acted as the allies of the parent state in youth, would submit to a system of unbending restraint, when they had attained to the strength and maturity of manhood. Parliament should have understood, that while the colonies were becoming more and more jealous of their rights, they were also becoming sensible of their power. If they had learned the lesson of civil freedom from the Pilgrims, they had also learned the art of war from the French and Indians."*

Anthony Wayne was one of the provincial deputies who, early in the year 1774, were chosen, by the different counties, to take into consideration the alarming state of affairs at this crisis, and report thereon. He was also a member of the Pennsylvania convention, which, shortly after this, assembled in the city of Philadelphia, and the patriotic zeal and spirited proceedings of which body excited an honorable and powerful emulation in the other colonies.

* Frost's History of the United States.

The state of public affairs strongly indicated that the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1774-5, should be composed of men possessing the soundest heads and stoutest hearts; the greatest care was consequently taken throughout the province to secure the election of men of this description. Among the members returned from Chester county was Anthony Wayne, who, with Charles Thompson, Thomas Mifflin, and other zealous patriots of the same body, led the way in preparing for the decisive part which Pennsylvania afterwards took in the general contest. In the summer of 1775, Wayne was appointed a member of the committee of safety, with Dr. Franklin, John Dickinson, and others, alike distinguished for zeal in their country's cause. To this committee belonged the duty of calling into actual service the citizens, and providing for the defence of the province against invasion from abroad and insurrection at home.

Wayne, having resolved to enter the service of his country the moment an opportunity should present, and being himself fully convinced that the controversy between the two countries would only be settled by the sword, assiduously applied his mind to acquiring a knowledge of military tactics, and gave a great portion of his time and labor to the institution and instruction of military associations throughout his native county. On the subject of military discipline and tactics, every writer of eminence, and within his reach, was procured; and every day, which he could spare from other public duties, he devoted to performing the service of a drill officer, and infusing into the minds of his fellow-citizens a knowledge of military science. His growing popularity brought to his standard large assemblages of the youths of Chester county wherever he appointed a drill, and the confidence which they repos-

ed in his skill and intrepidity, was an earnest of the most prompt and strict attention to his orders should the occasion come when he should be called upon to lead them into battle.

Wayne, in size, was above what is termed the "middle stature," and was well proportioned. He had dark hair. His forehead was high and handsomely formed. The color of his eyes was a dark hazel, intelligent, quick, and penetrating. His nose approached the aquiline. The remainder of his face was well proportioned, and his whole countenance fine and animated. His natural disposition was exceedingly amiable. He was ardent and sincere in his attachments. His morals were chaste, his manners refined.

So desirous was this zealous republican of disciplining the different military associations in his native county, that, in September, 1775, he abstracted himself wholly from the political councils of the province, and devoted his energies to the object of raising a volunteer regiment. This object he pursued with such combined decision and discretion, that he was but six weeks in completing a regiment, of which he was unanimously chosen colonel, and by his address and assiduity soon exhibited, to the surprise of his countrymen, a corps more resembling veterans than militia. They were young and gallant men who thronged to the standard of Anthony Wayne! Every thing conspired to make the young men of that day patriots, agitated as the citizens were throughout the colonies with the great questions of taxation and the rights of a free people. The clouds of war threatened, and the young and enthusiastic at once turned their attention to military science. They ransacked history for the description of battles, and even though they did not obtain much of information in regard to tactics from historians, they

nevertheless imbibed no inconsiderable share of military ardor from perusing and dwelling upon the heroic deeds of the past. The spirit of liberty was abroad. Thousands of young men throughout the colonies were thronging to enrol themselves. Already had the great drama of the Revolution opened at Lexington and Bunker's Hill. Already had Washington accepted the command of the army, and repaired to the seat of war.

Indications of patriotism and military superiority like that which displayed itself thus early in the career of Anthony Wayne, was particularly welcome at this crisis. Congress, sitting at Philadelphia, had called upon each of the colonies for a certain number of regiments to reinforce the northern army; and of the four required from Pennsylvania, the one raised by the exertions of Wayne was called upon, and upon him was conferred the command of it. His commission dates the 3d of January, 1776. So soon as the appointment was announced, those that he had drilled and disciplined, flocked around him, enthusiastically ready to follow his fortunes in the service of their common country. This was a circumstance highly flattering to him, as well as honorable to themselves, and by which means he was speedily enabled to take the field. He received orders to join the army under General Lee at New York;* from whence he proceeded with his officers and men to Canada, where he arrived about the last of June, and his regiment formed a part of the brigade, under the command of General Thompson, stationed at the mouth of Sorel river.

* Washington, in person, was besieging the British in the town of Boston, which they evacuated on the 17th of March, 1776; but previous to that, he had sent a force under General Lee to put New York city and Long Island into a state of defence.

By the death of Gen. Thomas, who had commanded the northern army, the command devolved upon Maj. Gen. Sullivan, who arrived at Sorel river at about the same time Wayne did.* Sullivan, being informed that a detachment of six hundred of the British light infantry had advanced as far westward as the Trois Rivières, (Three Rivers,) and were posted there under the command of Gen. Frazer, was desirous of not only checking their advance, but striking them before they could concentrate their forces; he was desirous of recapturing the post, and establishing a heavy battery upon it, which, if not sufficient entirely to prevent the ascent of the British armed vessels and transports up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, might at least so embarrass the navigation as greatly to retard their progress thither.†

With these views, Sullivan intrusted the expedition to Gen. Thompson, who set out upon the night of the 3d of July, at the head of three regiments; Wayne's, St. Clair's and Irvine's. Although the plan of this expedition was well laid, and much resolution discovered in the execution of it, yet a combination of untoward circumstances compelled the Americans to retreat in the greatest confusion. Gen. Thompson, and the

* "John Sullivan, an officer in the army of the American Revolution, born in Maine, established himself as a lawyer in New Hampshire. Turning his attention to military affairs, he received, in 1772, the commission of major, and in 1775, that of brigadier-general. The next year he was sent to Canada, and on the death of General Thomas, the command of the army devolved on him."—*Biographical Dictionary*.

The northern army had been in command of General Montgomery, who fell at the assault on Quebec. After him General Wooster had the command. General Thomas, who was sent to succeed the latter, died, during the retreat from Quebec, on the 2d of June.

† St. Clair's Narrative.

gallant Col. Irvine, with some other officers, were taken prisoners, together with about two hundred privates; and several rank and file were killed. Col. St. Clair received a wound in one of his feet, and the movements of the brigade devolved upon Col. Wayne, who, though severely wounded himself, conducted the retreat in a masterly manner, and succeeded in uniting and bringing off the dispersed and broken bodies of troops, and with which he returned to the camp at the mouth of the Sorel. This post it was no longer possible to hold; the Americans consequently evacuated it, and a retreat towards Lake Champlain was commenced. The duty of covering this movement fell to the part of Col. Wayne and the Pennsylvania regiments. Already a heavy British column was advancing, and the Americans had but just time to leave the fort before the head of the enemy's column entered it. The retreat was ably conducted by Wayne, and, ultimately, after many feats of bravery, and enduring much toil and innumerable privations, the Americans, with their baggage and stores, were safely concentrated at Ticonderoga, on the 17th of July.

At this post, and its dependencies, generals Gates and Schuyler, then commanding, determined to take their stand. In October, the British commander-in-chief, Sir Guy Carleton, resumed offensive measures, and, with a part of his fleet, appeared in view of these posts. He reconnoitred the fortifications, but found them so well prepared to resist an assault, and the lateness of the season precluding the trial of a siege, that he concluded to suspend operations until the following spring. He had landed his forces as if determined to attack the American posts; but, with his new impressions on his mind, he re-embarked his army, and retired into winter quarters in Canada.

Immediately after the main body of the British had withdrawn from the neighborhood of Ticonderoga, Gen. Gates repaired to Washington's army with a strong detachment of the northern troops, and the command of the remainder devolved on Gen. Schuyler, by whom the following orders were issued.

"November 23d, 1776.

"Colonel ANTHONY WAYNE,

"Sir,—The care of the fortress of Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence, being committed to you, as commanding officer, with a garrison composed of your regiment, and those of Wood, Dayton, Irvine, Burrell, and Whitcomb, to compose the garrison, together with the artillery, under Major Stevens, the light infantry companies, under Colonel Whitcomb, Colonel Baldwin, the chief engineer, with sundry artificers, and Major Hay, A. D. Q. M. General, including in all upwards of 2500 rank and file.—I have the fullest confidence in your vigilance, attention, and foresight to guard against surprise, and to do every thing that may have a tendency to secure your post, and promote the weal of the service, etc.

PHILIP SCHUYLER."

The compliment paid Col. Wayne in selecting him for the command of such an important trust, was certainly a high and flattering one. The arrangement was particularly agreeable to the troops; Congress approved of it, and the gallant soldier was, on the 21st of the following February (1777) promoted by that body to the rank of brigadier-general. The details of this command are honorable to Wayne, and not devoid of interest to the reader, but the limits of this memoir preclude their insertion. He continued at this post from November, 1776, to May, 1777, at which period, in consequence of his earnest solicitations, he was order-

ed to join the main army, then under Washington, in New Jersey. A day or two previous to his departure for head-quarters, the field officers of the continental army at Ticonderoga unanimously addressed him in the most affectionate and flattering terms.

The campaign of 1776 had proved rather disastrous to the Americans; a large number were taken prisoners, "and conveyed to New York, where they were confined in the most horrible of all dungeons, the British prison ships. There they endured sufferings, which have seldom known a parallel in the annals of cruelty. But they bore all with the patience of martyrs, and the courage of patriots. When offered liberty and promotion if they would join the royal party, they spurned the offer with contempt; and hundreds of them expired in captivity, rather than desert the cause to which they had devoted themselves."*

The campaign of 1777, had opened on both sides with a rapid succession of assaults and surprises. At Peekskill, on the North River, the Americans were attacked by a large body of the British, under convoy of a frigate; they set the stores and buildings on fire, and retreated. The British, after finishing the work of destruction, returned to the city of New York. This took place on the 23d of March.

On the 13th of April, an attempt was made by Lord Cornwallis and Gen. Grant, to surprise and cut off Gen. Lincoln, who, with 500 men, was posted at Bound Brook, a few miles from Brunswick, in New Jersey. The force of the British on this occasion was near 2000, but Lincoln, by a daring and energetic movement, notwithstanding he was partly surrounded, forced his passage through the enemy's columns, and escaped

* Frost's United States.

with a loss of less than a hundred men, leaving some baggage and three pieces behind.

These, and similar, desultory enterprises were being carried on, whilst the northern army lay inactive at Ticonderoga. The valor, and enterprising nature, of Wayne, could not be contented except in the theatre of the war,—which was at the crisis on the soil of New Jersey,—and hence his solicitations to be transferred to the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief, where he arrived about the middle of May, and was received by the officers and soldiers of the army, but especially by those of the Pennsylvania line, with great pleasure.

CHAPTER II.

Campaign of 1777.—Washington's praises of Wayne's gallantry in the field.—Confidence of the Pennsylvanians in Wayne's superior talents.—Letter to him from Dr. Rush—his reply.—Battle of Brandywine.—Wayne at Chad's Ford—his bravery and coolness in this action.—Engagement of 16th September—Wayne at the post of danger.—A full account of the "Massacre at the Paoli," as it is called.—Court Martial of Wayne in consequence—his defence, his acquittal, etc.

GENERAL HOWE, having received reinforcements from England, crossed over from New York city into the state of New Jersey, with 30,000 men. This was about the 1st of June, 1777. Washington had but 7000 men to resist this overpowering number of well disciplined troops. Howe manœuvred for several days, with the object of drawing Washington from the strong position he occupied at Middlebrook. One day he would pretend an attack on the American camp, and the next a flank movement on Philadelphia—in which city Congress was sitting, and the expulsion of which body, together with the capture of that city, were now the prominent objects that Howe was desirous of effecting. These manœuvres not succeeding, he counterfeited an alarm, and made a precipitate retreat to Staten Island,

Wayne, immediately on his arrival at head-quarters, had been placed in command of a brigade. He had made every possible exertion to bring it into the field in a high state of discipline; and, for this purpose, as well as on account of the deeply interesting crisis of the war, he denied himself the pleasure of even visiting his

family, from whom he had been separated more than sixteen months. His corps, and those respectively of Sullivan, Morgan, and Maxwell, were ordered to pursue the retreating enemy; whilst Washington himself, with the main army, should follow to sustain an attack or cover a retreat. Howe, now learning that Washington was in pursuit of him, recalled his forces from Staten Island, and advanced with his whole army, hoping to bring the latter to a pitched battle; pushing rapidly forward himself, despatching Lord Cornwallis with a force to seize the post at Middlebrook. But the whole object was discovered by an American reconnoitering party; Washington returned towards the mountains and regained the strong hold of his former position, before Cornwallis had an opportunity to reach it.

Howe, finding he could not bring Washington to a pitched battle, and baffled in every way by the American Fabius, gave up the design of reaching Philadelphia by a land march through New Jersey, and embarked 16,000 of his troops on the 5th of July, sailing southward; leaving the remainder of the army with Sir Henry Clinton, to keep New York city in possession of the British.

During these skirmishes, Wayne and Morgan particularly distinguished themselves, evidence of which we have in Washington's report to Congress, dated June 22d. "They displayed great bravery and good conduct;" says he, "they constantly advanced on an enemy far superior to themselves in number, and well secured behind strong redoubts." Washington held Wayne in high estimation; in fact, he soon became a favorite with the commander-in-chief, and at all times shared largely of his confidence.

The people of Pennsylvania were at this period, unhappily, much divided on the subject of state policy.

In order that Gen. Wayne might aid in restoring harmony, many of his former political associates were anxious that he should visit his native state, and among them was one of her favorite sons, the distinguished Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and then a member of the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress. He wrote to Wayne. "Come, my dear sir," is his language, "and let us weep together over this dear nurse of our childhood, the protectress of our youth, and the generous rewarder of our riper years. 'De republica nunquam desperandum est.' Let us unite our efforts once more, and perhaps we may recover Pennsylvania from her delirium. At present she has lifted a knife to her own throat. Your timely prescriptions may yet save her life. I need not say, that in the field, we expect that the Pennsylvanians will show us the 'metal of their pasture' in the day of trial. Let no other state bear away from us the palm of military glory.'"*

This letter was addressed to Wayne while he was with the army in New Jersey. Wayne replied very fully to the political part of Dr. Rush's epistle, and regretted that his military duties would not admit of his absence from the army. He adds, "The enemy do not seem fond of meeting disciplined troops. My bri-

* "Benjamin Rush, an eminent American physician, was born, in 1745, in Bristol, Pennsylvania; educated at Princeton, and took his degree at Edinburgh; chosen in 1776 a member of Congress, and signed the Declaration of Independence; professor of medicine and clinical practice at the Pennsylvania University; died in 1813. He was one of the greatest and best men who have adorned his country. Among his works are, *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical; Medical Inquiries and Observations; and a History of the Yellow Fever.*"—*Biographical Dictionary.*

gade offered Gen. Grant battle six times the other day ; he as often formed, but always on our approach his people broke and run, after firing a few vollies, which we did not return, being determined to let them feel the effects of a close fire, and then give them the bayonet under cover of the smoke. 'This hero, who was to march through America at the head of 5000 men, by a flank fire of our artillery had his coat much dirtied, his horse's head taken off, and himself badly bruised, for having the presumption, at the head of seven hundred British troops, to face five hundred Pennsylvanians. You may rest assured, sir, that the Pennsylvanians will not give up 'the palm of military glory' to any troops on earth.'

After the British retreated from New Jersey, some time elapsed before Sir William Howe developed the real object of his next movement. So soon as it was ascertained, Gen. Wayne received the following order from the commander-in-chief, which was promptly obeyed and satisfactorily executed.

"Head Quarters.

"The fleet have gone out of the Hook,* and as Delaware appears to be the most probable destination, I desire that you will leave your brigade under the next in command, and proceed to Chester county, in Pennsylvania, where your presence will be necessary to arrange the militia who are to rendezvous there."

To prevent the British from getting possession of Philadelphia, was a matter of deep anxiety to Washington and Congress. That that city was the destination of the British fleet was the commonly received opinion ; and the Americans obstructed the navigation

* The British fleet left Sandy Hook on the 25th of July.

of the river by a chevaux-de-frise and other works, which they placed a few miles below the city. Howe being apprized of these obstructions, sailed farther south, and entered the Chesapeake. Washington, receiving intelligence that the British fleet was standing up the bay, instantly decamped from the margin of the Delaware, in Buck's county, and marched with his whole army to oppose, if not defeat, the object of the enemy—the reduction of Pennsylvania, particularly that of Philadelphia.

On the 24th of August, Howe landed his forces at the head of Elk river. He was not ready to march upon Philadelphia until the 3d of September, when he set his columns in motion, and advanced with but little opposition until he arrived, on the 11th, at the southern bank of a small river, called the Brandywine, and within twenty-five miles of the city. Here he was met by the American army, Washington having resolved to try the fortunes of a battle. On this memorable 11th of September, 1777, Gen. Wayne conducted a division. The point most accessible to the enemy was Chad's Ford. At this place, the post of danger, Wayne was stationed, with orders to resist the passage of the column under Knyphausen. So soon as Sir William Howe commenced the attack on the right, Knyphausen made his arrangements to pass the Ford, when a tremendous cannonade, accompanied by small arms, commenced on both sides. The conflict was most gallantly kept up by Wayne and his troops till near sunset, when being apprized of the defeat sustained in his rear—namely, that the right flank of the American line had given way, and had been followed by the flight and disorder of its centre and left—he thought it prudent to retreat, overpowered as he was by numbers, and per-

ceiving the enemy, who had vanquished* our right column, approaching near his flank and rear.*

Much credit was bestowed on Wayne and his division for their coolness and bravery throughout the day, and it was well merited. Their gallant resistance at the Ford most certainly prevented Knyphausen from materially annoying our retreating columns. "The contest, which began on our right," says Col. Lee, "spread to our left, was warm in some parts of the American line, and many of the corps distinguished themselves. The most conspicuous were the brigades of Wayne and Weedon, and the 3d regiment of Virginia, commanded by Col. Marshall, to which, with the artillery directed by Col. Proctor, of Pennsylvania, much praise was given."† The loss sustained by the Americans in this action has been stated at 300 killed, 600 wounded, and 400 prisoners. Sir William Howe stated the loss of his army to be only 100 killed and 400 wounded. It was in this battle that young La Fayette first drew his sword in the cause of our country's liberties. Though wounded in the leg, he kept his position, and continued to cheer and encourage the troops to the end of the engagement.‡

Washington, with his army, retired to Chester in the night; decamping on the following morning, and marching by the route of Philadelphia. Here he crossed the Schuylkill, and resolved to give the enemy ano-

* "The firing on the left being the signal for Knyphausen to act, this officer began his movements accordingly; but, notwithstanding the weight and vigor of his attack, and the aid it received from a covering battery, he was unable to drive Wayne from his position till near sunset."—*Sparks' American Biography*.

† Vide Lee's Memoirs of the Southern Campaigns.

‡ Frost's United States.

ther battle. For this purpose both armies were arrayed on the 16th, in Goshen township, Chester county, some distance south-west of the Warren tavern, on the road leading from Philadelphia to Lancaster. Gen. Wayne, as in the other instance, was given the post of danger, and commenced the action with great spirit. A violent storm of wind and rain came on, and rendered it impossible for either army to keep the field.* Separated by the tempest from his adversary, Washington resolved to replenish his ammunition, which, owing to the defective construction of the tumbrels and cartouch-boxes, had been rendered useless. He, therefore, retired with the main army up the Schuylkill, and crossed at Parker's ferry, where he might be enabled to obtain a fresh supply in time to dispute the passage of the Schuylkill, and yet make another effort to save Philadelphia.

On the 19th Wayne received the following order from the commander-in-chief, which had been preceded on the 17th and 18th by others, equally, if not more urgent.

“*Reading Furnace, 6 o'clock, P. M.*

“DEAR SIR:—I have this instant received yours of half past 3 o'clock, A.M. Having written to you already to *move forward* upon the enemy, I have but little to add. Generals Maxwell and Porter are ordered to do the same, being at Pott's forge. I could wish you and those generals to act in conjunction, to make your advance more formidable, but I would not have *too much time* delayed on *this* account. I shall follow as speedily as possible with jaded men—some may probably go

* “The action took place near the Warren tavern; was close and sharp as long as it lasted, and would in a few minutes have become general, but for a deluge of rain which separated the combatants.”—*Sparks' Biography*.

off immediately, if I find they are in a condition for it. The horse are almost all out upon the patrol. Cartridges have been ordered for you. Give me the earliest information of every thing interesting and of your moves, that I may know how to govern mine by them. The *cutting off* the enemy's baggage would be a great matter.

Yours, sincerely,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

Wayne, in reply, assured Washington, that "every possible exertion would be made to carry his orders into effect." For this purpose, on the evening of the 20th, with a great diminution of his division since the battle of the 11th, in consequence of the killed, wounded and sick, he took an excellent position, with 1500 troops, militia included, three miles in the rear of the left wing of the British army,—whence, after being reinforced, it was his intention to march and attack the enemy's rear when they decamped, and, if possible, "cut off their baggage." But in this he was disappointed. Traitors, on the evening above mentioned, passed into the British camp, fully apprized the enemy of Wayne's position, and in the night conducted them to it, as we shall see.

Wayne had taken this position, two miles west of the Paoli tavern, there to be joined by Gen. Smallwood and the Maryland militia. His encampment was remarkably well chosen; no public roads were then in existence which led immediately to it, and, from the direction in which the enemy lay, it was difficult of access, and all his arrangements to prevent either a surprise or a repulse were admirably formed. Night had come on; Smallwood had not yet arrived; pickets and sentinels had been planted, and patrols of horse thrown forward on the by-roads leading into the camp. Some-

time after nine o'clock in the evening, Wayne was given to understand that a boy, who during the day had been captured and liberated by the enemy, had overheard one British soldier remark to another that "an attack on the American party would be made during the night." In consequence of which, though he did not place much reliance upon the report, he multiplied both his pickets and patrols, directed the troops to repose on their arms, and, as it was then raining, to put their cartouch-boxes under their coats.*

He was thus prepared either to meet an attack or to withdraw from it, as circumstances might prompt. In the meantime, detachments of the enemy had set out, having been previously apprized of Wayne's position, and were now faithfully piloted over hills and a long by-paths. At eleven o'clock, Wayne was aware of the near approach of the British column, and, conjecturing from the direction of its march, that the attack was aimed at the right of his position, he immediately ordered Col. Humpton, second in command, "to wheel the line and lead off by a road leading to the White Horse tavern; while with the first Pennsylvania regiment, the light infantry, and the horse, he should post himself on the right and cover the retreat." With this arrangement, the artillery moved off, sustaining neither injury or loss; nor, under this judicious direction, would any have befallen the infantry, if the order given to Humpton had been promptly obeyed by him. But from negligence or misapprehension, this officer failed to put the troops in motion, till thrice ordered to do so. This delay gave the British time to come up before the infantry could make their retreat good. The enemy fell upon them, with the cry of "No quarters," and

* Sparks' American Biography.

one hundred and fifty were killed and wounded in this action, as reported by Wayne, which statement was subsequently proven to be correct.* The British report made the number three hundred, and American writers have generally copied this report, not making allowances for exaggeration. Persons were still living in 1829, who assisted in burying the dead; but fifty-three bodies were found on the field, which were decently interred by the neighboring farmers in one grave, immediately adjoining the scene of action, being one mile south of the Warren tavern, on the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike road.†

If Wayne had occupied the ground on the night of the 20th, which some, even American historians, assert he did, and there the disaster had occurred, he would have been justly accountable to his God and country for all the blood shed on that night; because the position would have been extremely ineligible in itself, and

* See the Casket, for 1829, and Sparks' Biography.

† "On the 20th of September, 1817, being the 40th anniversary of the Massacre, a Monument was erected over the remains of those gallant men, by the Republican Artillerists of Chester County, aided by the contributions of their fellow citizens. It is composed of white marble, and is a pedestal surmounted by a pyramid. Upon the four sides of the body of the pedestal, are appropriate inscriptions. The monument is enclosed by a stone wall, forming a rectangular oblong, from north to south, sixty feet in length and twenty in width. The historical account of the location of this engagement is erroneous. It is stated to have occurred in the woods, near the entrance of *the road* leading from Darby into that leading to Lancaster. The fact is not so. The position of the troops, on that night, was nearly, if not quite, two miles west from this place, and on ground incomparably more eligible. The Paoli tavern is situated at the spot first above mentioned. The affair, in consequence of this topographical error, has been styled the "Massacre at the Paoli."—*Casket*.

only one mile from the enemy's lines. The above remarks have been deemed proper, not only on account of Wayne's memory, but also for the purpose of handing down to posterity correct information on a subject, which has never failed to excite much interest and inquiry.

Shortly after this affair, Gen. Wayne was much distressed to hear that, either from misrepresentation, envy, or malice, he was censured for his conduct on account of the unfortunate rencontre on the night of the 20th. He therefore addressed the commander-in-chief, as follows :—

“SIR—I feel myself very much injured until such time as you will be kind enough to indulge me with an inquiry into my conduct concerning the action of the night of the 20th September.

“Conscious of having done my duty, I dare my accusers to a fair and candid hearing ; dark and insidious friends I dread ; but from an open and avowed enemy I have nothing to fear.

“I have no other mode of showing them forth to open view, than through your means. I must therefore beg an immediate investigation by a Court Martial.

“Your compliance will much oblige your excellency's most obedient humble servant.

“ANTHONY WAYNE.”

To which the commander-in-chief replied, that “so soon as the army enjoyed a little respite, his request should be granted.”

In order that the present and succeeding generations may have a view of Wayne's conduct on that night, as well as the sentence which was passed on it by a tribunal perfectly qualified to judge, the following documents are presented, as extracted from a public print of that day.

Extract of a communication dated White Marsh, 2d November, 1777.

The action of the night of the 20th of September, near the Warren, has been variously and very erroneously represented.

However sanguine some persons were in their attempt to detract from the merits of Gen. Wayne, and the worthy officers of his division, who, with unparalleled bravery, stood the bayonets of the enemy, saved all the artillery, and effected an honorable retreat in the face of every difficulty and danger, they now find themselves egregiously deceived in proffering a charge which must have proceeded from the worst of motives and the worst of hearts.

A General Court Martial, of which General Sullivan was president, was held the 25th, 26th, 27th and 30th of October, for the trial of Brigadier-General Wayne, on the following charge, viz :

“That he had timely notice of the enemy’s intention to attack the troops under his command, on the night of the 20th September last, and notwithstanding that intelligence, neglected making a disposition until it was too late either to annoy the enemy or make a retreat, without the utmost danger and confusion.”

This charge originated with Col. Humpton, who sought to exonerate himself in regard to his cowardice, or disobedience of orders, by throwing the odium on Wayne, whose defence was as follows.

“After the expiration of five weeks, during which period the tongue of slander has not been idle, I am happy to bring my case before a court of whose honor and impartial judgment I cannot have the least doubt. I shall not intrude on the patience of this court by any useless preface, but proceed to answer the charge.

“The charge exhibited against me, is, ‘that I had

timely notice of the enemy's intention to attack the troops under my command on the night of the 20th September, and notwithstanding that intelligence, I neglected making a disposition until it was too late, either to annoy the enemy or make a retreat, without the utmost confusion.'

"The first part of the charge, that 'I had timely notice of the enemy's intention to attack the troops under my command,' is very readily answered.

"I shall briefly relate what these gentlemen call a timely notice:—A Mr. Jones, an old gentleman, living near where we were encamped, came to my quarters between 9 and 10 o'clock at night, and informed me, before Colonels Hartley, Broadhead and Temple, that a servant boy belonging to Mr. Clayton had been taken by the enemy and liberated again, who said that he had heard some of their soldiers say, that they intended to attack me that night. Although this could not be deemed a *sufficient notice* on any military principle, yet I immediately ordered out a number of videttes, in addition to those already planted, with direction to patrol *all* the roads leading to the enemy's camp. I also planted two new piquets, the one in front on a blind path leading from the Warren to my camp, the other to the right, and in the rear, which made on that night not less than six different piquets.

"I had, exclusive of these, a horse piquet under Captain Stoddard well advanced on the Swedesford road, being the very way the enemy marched that night. But the very first intelligence which I received of their advancing was from one of the very videttes which I sent out in consequence of the *timely notice* from Mr. Jones, who had only *time* to go about a mile before he met the enemy. Immediately on his return, the troops were all ordered to form, having been warned to lay on their

arms in the evening, for a purpose which I shall presently mention ; at this time it was raining, and in order to save the cartridges from wet, I ordered the soldiers to put their cartouch-boxes under their coats. This, gentlemen, does not look like a surprise ; it rather proves that we were prepared either to move off or act as the case might require, when once apprized which way the enemy were actually advancing. To have made any move, previously to ascertaining that fact, might have been attended by fatal consequences, or totally subversive of the views of the commander-in-chief. So soon as it was discovered that the enemy were pushing for our right, where our artillery was planted, Major Ryan carried my orders to Colonel Humpton, and to the division, for the whole to wheel by sub-platoons to the right, and to march off by the left, and gain the road leading on the summit of the hill toward the White Horse, it being the very road on which the division moved two miles the previous evening. The division wheeled accordingly ; the artillery moved off, but owing to some neglect or misapprehension, which is not uncommon, in Colonel Humpton, the troops did not move until a second and third order were sent, although they were wheeled and faced for the purpose. At the very time this order for the retreat was at first given, and which I presumed was obeyed, I took the light infantry and the first regiment and formed them on the right, and remained there with them and the horse in order to cover the retreat. If this was not making a disposition, I acknowledge I know not what a disposition is.

“ These troops met and received the enemy with a spirit becoming free Americans, but were forced to give way to numbers. The neglect or misapprehension of Colonel Humpton had detained the division too long ; otherwise the disposition would have been perfect. I

was, in consequence, necessitated to form the 4th regiment to receive the enemy, and favor the retreat of the others; this, Colonel Butler and the officers of the infantry of that regiment, were concerned in and witness of. About three hundred yards in rear of that, I again rallied such of the division as took the proper route; those who went a contrary way, and out of supporting distance, perhaps Colonel Humpton can give the best account of. Here I have a fair and ample field for recrimination, were I so disposed. I shall waive the subject, and beg leave to read the orders which I received from time to time from his excellency General Washington.

“In the eyes of gentlemen and officers, I trust that I stand justified for the part I took on that night. I had the fullest and clearest advice that the enemy would march that morning for the river Schuylkill, and in consequence of this intelligence, I had reconnoitred a road leading immediately along the right flank of the enemy, in company with Colonels Humpton and Hartley, and I had the men *laying* on their arms, to move, (as soon as General Smallwood should arrive,) not *from* but *to* the enemy. For this purpose I had sent Colonel Chambers, as a guide, to conduct that officer into my rear, who with his division was expected to arrive every moment from two in the afternoon until we were attacked, at which time he was within a short distance of our rear, and retreated to the White Horse.

“I shall just put a serious question or two, and then submit the matter to the decision of this court. Suppose that, after all these repeated orders from his excellency, and the arrival of General Smallwood, I had retreated before I knew whether the enemy intended to attack me or not, and that they should have marched to the Schuylkill that morning, which they actually did,

would not these very gentlemen have been the first to default me, for putting it out of my power to attack their rear? Would not his excellency, with the greatest justice, have ordered me in arrest for cowardice and disobedience of his repeated, peremptory, and most pointed orders? Would not I have stood culpable in the eyes of the world? Would not I justly have merited immediate death or cashiering? I certainly would. What line could I follow but the one I trod? What more could have been done on the occasion than was done? The artillery, ammunition, etc., were covered and saved by a body of troops who were rallied and remained on the ground more than an hour after that gentleman, Colonel Humpton, the prosecutor, had effected his escape from *danger*, although perhaps not without *confusion*.

“I hold it needless to say any more, or take up the time of this court on the occasion. I rest my honor and character, which to me are more dear than life, in the hands of gentlemen, who, when deciding on my honor, will not forget their own.”

After a full and patient hearing of all the testimony brought forward, the court pronounced as follows:—
“The Court, having fully considered the charge against Brigadier-General Wayne, and the evidence produced to them, are *unanimously* of opinion that General Wayne is not guilty of the charge exhibited against him, but that he, on the night of the 20th September ultimo, did every thing that could be expected from an *active, brave, and vigilant* officer, under the orders which he then had. The court do acquit him with the *highest honor*.”

“The Commander-in-chief approves the sentence.”

CHAPTER III.

Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777, and the heroic part sustained by Wayne during the day.—His letter to Washington—letter to his family.—The British take possession of Philadelphia.—The American army at Whitemarsh, and at Valley Forge.—Some account of the British while in Philadelphia—the Doans.—Wayne in camp—he repairs to Lancaster.—Distressed condition of the army at Valley Forge—the foraging excursion of Wayne in New Jersey—his success—returns to camp, etc.

DEEMING it proper to place before the reader a clear account of the particulars in regard to the “Massacre of Paoli,” as it is usually called, we could not do so without referring to the proceedings of the Court Martial, and diverging for the time from the regular progress of history. We now return to the morning after the massacre.

Sir William Howe, early on the morning of the 21st of September, decamped from Great Valley, and by easy marches continued his route to Philadelphia; and on the 26th took a position in the village and immediate vicinity of Germantown, seven miles distant from the city. General Washington, having called in all his detached parties, broke up his camp at Pottsgrove, and with the view of placing his army in a strong position, and within a convenient distance from his enemy, encamped on the Skippack road, about sixteen miles from Germantown. Apprized that the British were weakened by sending off detachments for a variety of purposes, he suddenly decamped, at 7 o'clock on the

evening of the 3d of October, and, moving with secrecy and circumspection, attacked the enemy in their camp at dawn of day on the 4th. Every prospect of success was at first brilliant, but the day closed on our retreating army. On this day the division commanded by Wayne, pressed forward from the onset, and following its leader, mingled in the "thickest of the fight," until, by a train of unpropitious circumstances, the Americans were necessitated to commence a retreat, in covering which Gen. Wayne used every exertion which bravery and prudence could dictate.

The following letter was addressed by him on that day to Gen. Washington. It is dated "Camp near last Head Quarters, Oct. 4th, 1777, 8 o'clock, P.M.

"DEAR GEN.—After we left the field of battle, the troops, who took the upper route, were formed at White Marsh church, under General Stephen. It was thought advisable to remain there some time in order to collect the stragglers from the army. The enemy made their appearance with a party of light horse, and from 1500 to 2000 infantry, with two field pieces. The troops were ordered off, when I covered the rear with some infantry and Colonel Bland's dragoons; but finding the enemy determined to push us hard, I obtained from General Stephen some field pieces, and took the advantage of a hill overlooking the road the enemy were marching on; they met with such a reception, that they were induced to retire back over the bridge which they had just passed, and give up further pursuit. The time gained by this stand favored the retreat of a considerable number of our men, three or four hundred of whom are now encamped here, and which I hope will facilitate the retreat of almost all who were scattered; so that you are now, in my hum-

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Battle of Germantown.

brigade were at this time engaged to the south of Germantown, whilst my division had the right wing of the enemy's army to encounter, on the north of the town; two-thirds of our army being too far to the north to afford us any assistance. However, the unparalleled bravery of our troops surmounted every difficulty, and obliged the enemy to break and run in the utmost confusion. Our people, remembering the action of the night of the 20th of September, pushed on with their bayonets, and took ample vengeance for that night's work. Our officers exerted themselves to save many of the poor wretches who were crying for mercy, but to little purpose; the rage and fury of the soldiers were not to be restrained for some time—at least, not until great numbers of the enemy fell by their bayonets. The fog, together with the smoke occasioned by our cannon and musketry, made it almost as dark as night, and our people, mistaking each other for the enemy, frequently exchanged shots before they discovered their error. We had now pushed the enemy near three miles, and were in possession of their whole encampment, when a large body of troops were discovered advancing on our left flank, which being taken for the enemy, our men fell back, in defiance of every exertion of the officers to the contrary, and after retreating about two miles, they were discovered to be our own people, who were originally intended to attack the right wing of the enemy. The fog and this mistake prevented us from following a victory that in all human probability would have put an end to the American war. General Howe for some time could not persuade himself that we had run away from victory, but the fog clearing off, he ventured to follow us with a large body of his infantry, grenadiers, and light horse. I at this time being in the rear, with the view of collecting the

stragglers of our retreating army, and finding the enemy determined to push us hard, drew up in order of battle and awaited their approach. When they advanced sufficiently near, we gave them a few cannon shot. Not being pleased with this reception, our pursuers broke and retired—thus ended the action of that day, which continued from daylight until near 10 o'clock. I had forgot to mention that my roan horse was killed under me, within a few yards of the enemy's front, and my left foot a little bruised by a spent ball, but not so much so as to prevent me from walking. My poor horse received one musket ball in the breast and one in the flank, at the same instant that I had a slight touch on my left hand, which is scarcely worth noticing.

“Upon the whole it was a glorious day. Our men are in high spirits, and I am confident we shall give them a total defeat the next action, which is at no great distance.

“My best love and wishes to all friends.

“ANTHONY WAYNE.”

Each army, after this action, resumed its former position. Shortly after which Sir William Howe withdrew his troops from Germantown, and concentrated his force in the city and its immediate vicinity. Congress had left on the 18th of September and proceeded to Lancaster, sixty miles in the interior of the state. It was on the 26th that Howe, with a detachment of his troops, took peaceable possession of Philadelphia.*

* As they entered the city, Lord Cornwallis, at their head, led the van. They marched down Second street, without any huzzaing or insolence of manner; and the citizens thronged the sidewalks, with serious countenances, looking at them. The artillery were quartered in Chestnut street, between Third and Sixth streets,—the State House yard was made use of as a parade ground.—*Watson's Annals of Philadelphia.*

Washington, being now reinforced, took a strong position at White Marsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia, to which he added extensive field works. Howe, supposing that the American general intended to hazard another battle for the recovery of the then metropolis of the United States, resolved to march from Philadelphia on the night of the 4th of December, and attempt the surprise of the American camp in the same manner that Washington had actually surprised that of the British at Germantown. But in this design the British general failed. His troops remained a few days in the neighborhood of the American lines, and made many demonstrations of assault, in the expectation that Washington would quit his strong position in order to bring on a general action, which he prudently declined. After some considerable skirmishing, Howe returned to the city, virtually acknowledging by his retreat that he durst not risk a battle with his adversary on ground chosen by himself, notwithstanding he outnumbered Washington in regular troops. The commander-in-chief, in his official account of this excursion and retreat of Howe, says:—"I seriously wish they had made the attack; the issue would, in all probability, have been happy for us. Policy forbade our quitting our posts to attack them."

On the 7th of December, Howe returned to his winter quarters, there to indulge in "all the sweets of luxury and pleasure to be drawn from the wealthy and populous city of Philadelphia." Whilst Washington, on the 11th, with his almost famished and naked troops, whose march could be traced by the blood from their *bare feet*, proceeded to Valley Forge, sat down in a woods, and, in the latter end of December, cheerfully commenced building huts with their own hands, which,

after being completed, were palaces in comparison with their ragged tents.

The British, while they wintered in Philadelphia, pursued a round of amusements, and their young officers indulged in habits and excesses that were both novel and disagreeable to the staid citizens of a Quaker city. Sir William Howe was a handsome man, and of courteous manners. He had seized the carriage of Mrs. Pemberton for his own use, and rode much about the town. Of a social disposition, he gave many dinner parties, and was desirous of making the acquaintance of all the opulent families in the city. Balls and parties succeeded night after night, in a constant round, during the winter. Major André, and Captain Delancy, took the lead in such dramatic entertainments as were got up at the Old Theatre (now a distillery) in South street, above Fourth. Major André assisted in painting the scenes, and a drop curtain painted by him was for years after in use.*

In their foraging excursions, the British were invariably piloted and assisted by a notorious refugee family of five brothers and two cousins, bearing the name of *Doan*. It was at the instance of this band of freebooters that Howe had undertaken to surprise the Americans at White Marsh, and he kept them constantly on the lookout to furnish him with information if any opportunity should present.†

During the whole of the campaign of 1777, Gen. Wayne experienced every vicissitude of the military operations, under the immediate command of Gen. Washington. In councils of war and private conference he did every thing in his power to aid his country

* Watson's Annals of Philadelphia.

† History of the Doans.

and general. It is a fact which must here be placed to Gen. Wayne's credit, that, owing to a combination of circumstances, the duty, which was usually performed by three general officers for a length of time, devolved on him alone. To this case the commander-in-chief, (at one of the most pressing crises in the campaign of 1777,) adverts in an official letter.

"The recall of General St. Clair, obliged me to part with General Lincoln, whom I could but ill spare, so that the *whole charge* of his division is now upon General Wayne, there being no other brigadier in it than himself."

From the encampment, Wayne thus addressed a friend, Richard Peters, Esq.

"Mount Joy, Dec. 30, 1777.

"We are busy in forming a new city at this place. My people will be covered in a few days; I mean as to huts, but naked as to clothing—in which respect they are in a worse condition than Falstaff's recruits, for they have not one whole shirt in a brigade—he had more than that to a company. * * * * The eastern states have taken the wise measure of clothing their own troops. Would to God that Pennsylvania had done the same. I hope it is not yet too late. If I had not sent out some of my officers to purchase shoes, stockings, breeches and blankets, (for which our clothier-general refuses payment) the Pennsylvania troops must have either perished, or deserted, before this time. However, I expect soon to be able to procure necessities to make them comfortable; but to effect this essential business, and to recover my health, I shall require three or four weeks respite from camp duty, for—after struggling with a stubborn cold for some weeks, accompanied by a pain in the breast, occasioned by a fall

at Germantown, when my horse was shot under me—this caitiff complaint has taken post in my lungs and throat. And, unless I am permitted to change my ground, I dread the consequence. I have now been on constant duty for twenty-three months, sixteen of which I served in Canada and Ticonderoga, the remainder with his excellency, during which I have never had one single moment's respite. * * * * I am happy to hear that Mrs. Peters has blessed you with a son, and that she is likely to recover and assist you in forming his young mind, and placing him in the bright path to honor, virtue, freedom and glory—from which, I trust, neither he, nor my own little fellow, will turn aside, although the track should be marked with his father's blood."

So soon as the troops were comfortably covered, Wayne asked, and obtained, leave of absence for the purpose spoken of in the proceeding letter. Early in January he repaired to Lancaster, where the Seat of Government was then located. On the morning of leaving the camp, he issued the following :

"Division Orders.—The following promotions of field officers in the Pennsylvania line has taken place." Here the names of the officers and their respective ranks occur, after which he proceeds : "The justice done to the merits of these officers has opened the way for the promotion of the subaltern officers of the respective regiments, whose bravery and good conduct equally entitle them to it. The pleasure the general experiences on this occasion, he can much better feel than express. It must afford the highest satisfaction to grateful minds to see a corps of officers honorably provided for, who have more than shared the dangers and difficulties of the late hard campaign.

“The general’s state of health, as well as other considerations, require a little respite. He hopes soon to be able to rejoin the army. In the interim every exertion of his shall be used to provide not only comfortable clothing but the neatest uniform for his fellow-soldiers, whose bravery and conduct have made them formidable to their foes, and endeared them to their country and their general, whose greatest ambition is to deserve their esteem and confidence, and to share every vicissitude of fortune with them. The general requests his officers to pay every possible attention to the discipline, health and comfort of the soldiers during his absence.”

While at Lancaster, in fulfilment of this promise to his soldiers, Gen. Wayne used every exertion within his power, and, aided by Congress and patriotic friends of his immediate acquaintance, he raised supplies, and ultimately succeeded in rendering the Pennsylvania line comparatively comfortable as to clothing, as well as respectable in appearance. But, notwithstanding his exertions, and that of other officers, most of the troops at Valley Forge were in a distressed situation during the winter of 1777-8. So great did the scarcity of provisions become, that Washington, after using lenient measures, was at length compelled, in order to save the army from famine, to detach a strong body of troops under Gen. Greene, with orders to obtain, on the western side of the Delaware, “an immediate supply of provisions by any means whatever.” This officer, from the necessity of the case, (with the aid of a strong body of dragoons, commanded by Col. Lee,) foraged as in an enemy’s country, and seized on every animal fit for slaughter, and by these means the immediate wants of the army were supplied.

To prevent a recurrence of so deplorable a state of want, Gen. Wayne, about the middle of February, at a tempestuous and inclement season, was detached with a body of troops to New Jersey, in order to secure cattle on the eastern banks of the Delaware, and to destroy the forage which could not be removed lest it should fall into the hands of the British. This was a most hazardous and arduous enterprise, within the limits of the enemy's lines, and in a district of country subject to his control. But danger never deterred the gallant Anthony Wayne! He resolved on the relief of the suffering soldiery, and determined to wrest from the grasp of Sir William Howe the provisions he required for his army, as well as the forage which he much needed for the sustenance of his wagon-artillery and cavalry horses. He cheerfully proceeded to execute Washington's orders, and literally carried on a winter-campaign beyond the reach of any aid from his compatriots. After several skirmishes with the enemy—indeed, they rather merit the title of battles—in all of which he was so fortunate as to chastise them—he succeeded, by judicious management and great exertion, in sending to the American camp several hundred head of fine cattle, many excellent horses, suited for cavalry service, and also in securing a quantity of forage, and destroying much more, for the whole of which, to the well affected, he executed certificates in due form. About the middle of March, he returned to camp with his command, which had been partially aided by a detachment of New Jersey militia. Here he, his officers and soldiers, received the thanks of the commander-in-chief and the blessings of the army.

During the remainder of the season, matters at Valley Forge continued pretty much in statu quo. The comforts of the army were "few, and far between,"

whilst Washington and his officers were using every exertion to perfect the troops in the art of war; nor did Sir William Howe, at any time, visit them at their quarters, although the American general and his army calculated on that event.

The British commander-in-chief spent the spring of 1778, nearly in a state of inaction, confining his operations to sending out foraging and predatory parties, which did some mischief to the country, and but little service to the royal cause.

CHAPTER IV.

The British evacuate Philadelphia.—Washington holds a council of his officers—pursuit of the British through New Jersey.—Battle of Monmouth—Wayne—Gen. Charles Lee.—Washington's commendation of Wayne—great rejoicings in consequence of this victory.—Wayne's account of the battle so far as he was personally concerned in it—his letter of July 12th.—Court Martial of Gen. Lee—Wayne a witness—Lee's strictures upon his testimony—correspondence in consequence.—Wayne joins the main army at White Plains—his account of Col. Baylor's disaster—letters, etc.

THE issue of the two campaigns had already convinced Sir William Howe, that the result of the contest in the provinces could by no possibility be such as the British government had expected, when in 1775 they engaged in it. Some time previous to the opening of the campaign of 1778, he, at his own request, was recalled, and the command in chief devolved on Sir Henry Clinton. The latter arrived at Philadelphia on the 8th of June, where he found peremptory orders from his government for the immediate evacuation of the city. These orders were in consequence of the advanced state of the negotiations then in progress between the American commissioners at the court of France and the French government, apprehensive as the British ministry were that a fleet fitted out at Toulon was destined to the Delaware, and to co-operate with Washington against Philadelphia. Howe, they

were apprehensive, if a French fleet should blockade his squadron in the Delaware, whilst Washington enclosed him on the land side, would share the fate of Burgoyne, who had been so signally defeated in October of the preceding year.

The intended evacuation of the city could not long be concealed, in consequence of the preparations necessary on the part of the British, and it soon became known in the American camp. Washington, on the 17th of June, called a council of war, when the opinion of all his general officers was required, on the proper course to be pursued, all of whom concurred in the sentiment that it would not be advisable to disturb the British while crossing the Delaware, or to enter the works about Philadelphia until they should be entirely evacuated. On the subject of a general or even a partial action, whilst the enemy should be on their march, a diversity of opinion existed. Out of the number of seventeen general officers, Wayne and Cadwalader were the only two who were decidedly in favor of attacking the enemy; La Fayette inclined to this opinion, without absolutely adopting it; Greene was disposed for something more than the council were willing to concur in.

On the 18th of June, the British evacuated Philadelphia, crossed the Delaware, and commenced their difficult march through Jersey. On the same day, Gen. Washington broke up his camp at Valley Forge, for the purpose of following them, with views which were to be regulated by contingencies. He "put his troops in motion for Coryell's ferry; taking this upper route, as well to avoid a general action in conformity to the opinion of the council, as to keep himself prepared to preoccupy the mountain passes, leading to the posts in

the Highlands, should the seizure of these make any part of Clinton's plan of operation."*

On the 24th, the main body of the American army was encamped about five miles from Princeton, and that of the British at Allentown. Being thus relatively situated as to his enemy, Washington again convened his council of general officers, and stated to them the following facts: "The enemy's force is between nine and ten thousand rank and file. The American army on the ground is 10,684 effective rank and file, beside the advanced brigade under Gen. Maxwell of about 1200, and about 1200 militia." After this statement he proposed the question "Will it be advisable to hazard a general action;" all the generals composing the council, excepting Wayne, (Cadwalader being absent,) gave a negative answer, like that of the day preceding the movement of the army from Valley Forge. It was however agreed to strengthen the detachments which were then hovering on the flanks and rear of the British army, with an additional number of 1500 men, in pursuance of which Gen. Scott joined the advanced troops with that body of men.

Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*, says, "Though every general officer, except Wayne, had signed the opinion, given on the 24th, respecting the strength of this last detachment, yet the council had, on that point, been nearly equally divided. Those who were decidedly against hazarding a serious action, either general or partial, conceived the number agreed on competent to every purpose which ought to be contemplated; while others, who privately wished to bring on something more than light skirmishing, but had not sufficient confidence in themselves to hazard the responsi-

* Sparks' American Biography.

bility of openly advising the measure, were desirous of augmenting it to 2000 or 2500 men." The fact was, as the same writer has said—"The American officers seem to have been influenced by the councils of the Europeans."

Gen. Washington, who although cautious, yet possessing a very enterprising disposition, did, from the commencement, indulge in the most anxious desire to close with his antagonist, and finding himself supported by some officers whom he highly valued, he "resolved to take his measures on his own responsibility and without calling another council." He, therefore, despatched Gen. Wayne, with 1000 selected men, to join the advanced corps, which now amounting to upwards of 4000, became a major-general's command, and the Marquis de La Fayette was ordered to that duty. These facts clearly evidenced Washington's intention that his antagonist should not escape without a general action; inasmuch as Wayne had openly advocated that measure, and La Fayette was favorable to a partial one, therefore, if an opening occurred it was certain that those officers would attack with their whole force, which it would be necessary to support with the main army. They were also accompanied by Col. Hamilton, aid to the commander-in-chief, "who felt the strongest desire to signalize the detachment, and to accomplish all the wishes of his general."

With these orders, La Fayette, on the 26th, took a position on the Monmouth road, five miles in the rear of the British camp; but the main army, owing to bad weather and scarcity of provisions, was not sufficiently advanced to support the movement, and the corps was recalled on the morning of the 27th to English town.

Gen. Lee in the first instance, although entitled to this command, declined it, as he was against both a

partial or general action; but, discovering that his having declined it, was lessening him in the estimation of both officers and soldiers, he now solicited it. Washington granted his request, provided La Fayette had not commenced any enterprise. Lee advanced with two additional brigades, and no enterprise having been commenced by La Fayette, although on the very eve of it, the senior general assumed the command of the advanced corps, now amounting to several thousand men.

Lee encamped at English town, and the main army moved forward about three miles in his rear. Sir Henry Clinton had taken a strong position near Monmouth Court House, about seven miles in advance of Lee, whilst Morgan's corps hung on the enemy's right, and Gen. Dickenson on their left.

This being the relative situation of the armies, Washington determined to attack the British rear the moment they moved from their ground. About 5 o'clock in the morning of the 28th of June, intelligence was received that the front of the enemy was in motion. The troops were immediately put under arms, and orders despatched to Gen. Lee, directing him to move on and attack the rear, "unless there should be *powerful reasons* to the contrary."—He at the same time was informed, that the main body would be on its march to support him. In pursuance of these orders, Lee made his dispositions for attack, from which Sir Henry Clinton discovering that his flanks and rear were both threatened, and becoming alarmed for his baggage, sent it forward, and covered the rear with "the strength and flower of his army." Gen. Lee, in the first instance, supposing that their rear was protected by no more than 1800 or 2000 men, gave orders to Gen. Wayne to advance on them, with 700 men and two pieces of artillery, while

he, by a short route on the left, would gain their front, and by these means cut off the covering party from the main body. Sir Henry, discovering Wayne advancing, immediately wheeled about a body of horse and infantry, and commenced an attack, which was gallantly and speedily repulsed, and intended to be followed up by the artillery and a charge of bayonet. But while the disposition was making for this purpose, a general retreat of the whole advanced corps was ordered, which Lee afterwards stated was done for the purpose of falling back on more eligible ground, that on which he had been "having in its rear a morass, passable only by a single and narrow causeway, wholly unfit for the purposes of either regular retreat or speedy reinforcement."

Gen. Wayne, having been unsupported in his gallant movement against the enemy, experienced great difficulty in reaching the retreating troops. At this moment Washington rode up, beholding, with equal surprise and mortification, the flower of the army retreating before the enemy, without having made but one, and that unsupported, effort to maintain their ground. He indignantly rode up to Lee and made use of words that implied censure. Lee felt it, and replied in unbecoming language. Washington passed on to the rear of the retreating troops, whom he found closely pressed by the enemy—when he instantly took an advantageous piece of ground, and there posted a body of troops in order to give the enemy the first check. Lee, being told by one of the aids, that Washington had himself taken the command, replied "Then I have nothing further to do;" turned his horse and rode after his excellency in front. When he came up, Washington gave him orders to take proper measures with the residue of his division, and to stop the British column on the ground where he now stood. Lee replied,

“Your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field.”*

After this, Washington immediately rode forward to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition. The general action presently commenced. The day was excessively warm and sultry.† The Americans, though much fatigued by their previous march, fought with determined bravery, and the British were compelled to give way. Taking advantage of the night, the approach of which probably saved them from a total rout, they withdrew, and at daybreak had gained the heights of Middletown, having left behind them such of their wounded as could not with safety be removed.

This engagement produced an additional sprig of laurel for the wreath of Anthony Wayne. The commander-in-chief, in his official report to Congress, observes—“Were I to close my account of this day’s transactions without expressing my obligations to the officers of the army in general, I should do injustice to

* Charles Lee, a major-general in the army of the American revolution, born in North Wales, and became an officer [in the English army] at an early age. In 1773 he sailed for New York. Espousing the cause of the colonies, he received a commission from Congress. In 1778, he was arraigned before a Court Martial, in consequence of his misconduct at the battle of Monmouth, and was suspended for one year. He retired to a hovel in Virginia, living in entire seclusion, surrounded by his books and his dogs. In 1782, he went to reside in Philadelphia, where he died in obscurity, October 2d, of the same year. He was a man of much energy and courage, with considerable literary attainments, but morose and avaricious.—*Biog. Dictionary*.

† Many of the soldiers, (especially of the British army, in consequence of their thick clothing) dropped dead from the heat, it is said.

their merit and violence to my own feelings. They seemed to vie with each other in manifesting their zeal and bravery. The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning Brigadier-General Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery, *throughout the whole action*, deserves particular commendation."

This splendid victory was joyfully hailed by the patriotic portion of the people throughout the confederated colonies, and Congress returned thanks to Gen. Washington and his army.

The following extract from a letter of Wayne to his family, gives a concise account of the battle of Monmouth, so far as he was personally engaged in it:

" *Spottswood, 1st July, 1778.*

"On Sunday, the 28th of June, our flying army came in view of the enemy about 8 o'clock in the morning, when I was ordered to advance and attack them with a few men, the remainder of the corps, under General Lee, was to have supported me; we accordingly advanced and received a charge from the British horse and infantry, which was soon repulsed. Our general, however, thought proper to order a retreat, in place of advancing, without firing a single shot, the enemy following in force, which rendered it very difficult for the small force I had to gain the main body, being hard pushed, and frequently nearly surrounded. After falling back almost a mile, we met his excellency, who, surprised at our retreat, knowing that officers as well as men were in high spirits, and wished for nothing more than to be faced about and meet the British fire, accordingly ordered me to keep post where he met us, having a body of troops with two pieces of artillery

then under my command, and to keep the enemy in play until he had an opportunity of forming the main army and restoring order.

“We had just taken post when the enemy began their attack with horse, foot and artillery; the fire of their united force obliged us, after a severe conflict, to give way; after which a most severe cannonade, accompanied by small arms, was opened by our left wing on the enemy, which gave them an effectual check. During the interval, which this occasioned, every possible exertion was made use of by his excellency and the other generals to spirit up the troops, and prepare them for another trial.

“The enemy began to advance again in a heavy column with the view of turning our left flank, but in this they failed. They then made a similar effort on our right, and whilst our artillery was handsomely playing on them, I advanced with a strong body of troops—we met the enemy—the contest was exceedingly warm and well maintained on each side for a considerable time; at length victory declared for us; British courage failed, and was forced to give way to American valor.

“After retreating some considerable distance, the enemy took a strong position. General Washington, although many of our men were falling with thirst, heat and fatigue, resolved to renew the action, and made his disposition for that purpose, but night prevented their final execution.

“We encamped on the field of battle with a view of recommencing the action in the morning; but Sir Henry deemed it prudent to evade this, by retreating in the dead of night; after having interred many of his killed, yet leaving us to bury some of his distinguished officers, and two hundred and forty-five of his soldiers,

besides taking charge of a great number of his wounded. Our loss in this affair consists of a few gallant officers killed and wounded; and many brave soldiers in a similar state.

“Every general and other officer, (one excepted,) did every thing that could be expected on this great occasion, but Pennsylvania showed the road to victory.

“ANTHONY WAYNE.”

The palm of victory was certainly Washington's on this day; although his triumph was not complete. Had his generals concurred with him as to the advisability of a general action, and not by an almost unanimously adverse opinion “trammelled his conduct and circumscribed his views;” had not the advanced corps, by precipitately falling back, surprising and confusing the troops which were rushing to its aid, and in consequence requiring different and instantaneous arrangements to be made in the front of a gallant foe who had every thing at stake—the 28th of June, as the 4th of July, would have been altogether “Worthy of adoration, and ever adored.”

Sir Henry Clinton, in his official statement, reported his dead and missing at four officers and one hundred and eighty-four privates, his wounded at sixteen officers and fifty-four privates.—“The stubborn fact” of burying the dead, contradicts the correctness of Sir Henry's statement. He left on the field of battle, independently of those whom his own troops interred, four officers and two hundred and forty-five privates, whose bodies were buried on the field by persons appointed for that express business, and whose report was handed to the commander-in-chief. Some others were afterwards discovered and interred, increasing the amount to upwards of three hundred. This was not the only de-

ception of the kind used by the British commanders during the revolutionary war ; they made use of every art to prevent a knowledge of their numbers in killed and wounded.

The following is an extract of a letter of Wayne, to a friend, on this subject.

“ *Paramus, 12th July, 1778.*

“ We have been in perpetual motion ever since we crossed the Delaware, until yesterday, when we arrived here, where we shall be stationary for a few days, in order to recruit a little after the fatigue which we have experienced in marching through deserts, burning sands, &c. &c.

“ The enemy, sore from the action of the 28 ult., seem inclined to rest also. They are now in three divisions :—one on Long Island, another on Staten Island, and a third in New York.

“ The victory on that day turns out to be much more considerable than at first supposed. Col. Butler, who remained on the ground two or three days after the action, says that nearly three hundred British had been buried by *us* on the field, and numbers discovered every day in the woods, exclusive of those buried by the enemy, not much short of one hundred. So that by the most moderate calculation, their killed and wounded must amount to eleven hundred, the flower of their army, and many of them of the richest blood of England.

“ Tell those Philadelphia ladies, who attended Howe’s assemblies and levees, that the heavenly, sweet, pretty red coats—the accomplished gentlemen of the guards and grenadiers have been humbled on the plains of Monmouth. The knights of the *Blended Roses* and of the *Burning Mount*, have resigned their laurels to

rebel officers, who will lay them at the feet of *those* virtuous daughters of America, who cheerfully gave up ease and affluence in a city, for liberty and peace of mind in a cottage.

“ Adieu, and believe me

“ Yours most sincerely,

“ ANTHONY WAYNE.”*

Sir Henry having in the night escaped from his adversary, as has been mentioned, took a strong position on the high grounds at Middleton ; where, after remaining a few days, he proceeded to Sandy Hook, whence he passed his army over to New York. Washington after paying the last honors to the gallant dead, soothing the minds and administering to the relief of the wounded, proceeded by easy marches to the highlands of the Hudson.

Upon the Court Martial of Gen. Lee, Wayne was an important witness, and the former having made some very severe strictures, published in a newspaper at Philadelphia, upon the testimony given by the latter, we find, after the campaign of 1778 was concluded, the following correspondence.

“ *Elizabethtown, 7th Jan. 1779.*

“ SIR—The very severe strictures which you were pleased to make on my evidence in the course of your trial on account of the action of Monmouth, and the ungenerous, though free manner, in which you affect to treat my opinion and military character in that, and a

* The allusions in this letter to Knights of the Blended Roses and Burning Mount, refer to the celebrated fete and tournament, given at the country-seat of Marmaduke Wharton, Esq., by the officers of the British army to Sir William Howe, previous to his sailing for England.

late publication in Mr. Dunlap's paper, give a sensation which I can more readily feel than express.

"If it was your intention by these strictures to injure my military character in the eyes of the world, I know that you will have the candor to acknowledge it, as well as courage to accept my demand of *honorable redress*.

"Interim, I am your obedient,

"Humble servant,

"ANTHONY WAYNE.

Major-General Lee."

"Elizabethtown, 8th Jan. 1779.

"SIR—That I should not have a right to show, when my life, fame and fortune are at stake, the unsoundness of any opinion delivered by an evidence on the part of the prosecution, is left for the present humor of the times. You thought that we ought to have staid in a certain position; I think your opinion on this point erroneous, and I have said so. If this is treating your military character with contempt, I am guilty, but in no other respect.

"I can honestly assure you that I have acted with the greatest candor towards you on every occasion, when you have been mentioned as the author of my wicked prosecution, for so I must think it. I have totally exculpated you from the charge, and have done justice to your courage and integrity. With respect to my publication in Dunlap's paper, I give you my word and honor, than any further than condemning the position which you seemed to approve of, I never had you or any one of the evidences in my thought—perhaps you have conceived some expressions made use of in this paper as alluding to you, when they alluded to the proceedings of the court, which you will see in some strictures I shall soon publish. I will now seriously

conjure you well to consider whether the step you are now taking will not hurt you more in the opinion of the world than any thing I have said. However, if you persevere in your intention, as soon as I have taken final leave of Congress, published my case to the world at large, and am sufficiently recovered from my late accident to act with vigor, I will not decline your invitation; although, at the same time, I cannot help expressing my concern that a man of your courage, and (I believe, firmly, integrity,) should appear in the list of persecutors of a man already too much persecuted for the honor of this country, which I will venture to say has been twice saved from destruction by the very man who now is the object of general slander, abuse, and very injurious treatment.

“In the mean time, sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“CHARLES LEE.

“*General Wayne.*”

“*Elizabethtown, 8th Jan. 1779.*

“SIR—That you have a right to differ in opinion with me, or any other gentleman, on a point where “your life, fame and fortune are at stake,” I readily grant, and that you have also a right to condemn any position which, in your opinion, was improper; but I must still be permitted to think, that you had no right to take such *free* liberty, in other instances, with the military character of one who never injured you further than as an evidence with regard to the transactions of that day. You do me great injustice when you place me in the list of your persecutors. I should be the last man in this country that would be guilty of such a piece of cruelty, unless it be deemed persecution to ask redress for my injured character.

“I very sincerely lament the illiberality of some persons, who may be truly called persecutors, and who have attacked your character in the public prints in an unwarrantable and unmanly manner, to give it no harsher terms ; and I assure you my feelings have been much hurt by the perusal of those attacks.

“When you have taken your ‘final leave of Congress, published your case to the world, and sufficiently recovered from your late accident to act with *vigor*,’ I shall expect to hear from you.

“Interim, I wish you every comfort,

“And am your most ob’d’t humble servant,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“*Major-General Lee.*”

Here the matter dropped, and Gen. Lee retired into his seclusion, in Berkley county, Virginia ; and the sequel will prove (see a letter at page 104) that really brave and honorable military gentlemen can soon forgive, if not forget their differences, or that they can peaceably adjust them without the ceremonious intervention of others, who too frequently cause bloodshed—in the detestable practice of duelling. It will also show that Gen. Lee, although of a very warm temperament of mind, could regulate it in such a manner as to afford conclusive evidence not only of a great mind, but of a noble and magnanimous heart.

It appears this was the only instance, in the public or private life of Wayne, in which he ever felt himself bound to avenge what he may have deemed an insult, in a similar manner ; nor is it known that he was ever “called out” by a like procedure. He was careful not to give offence, and therefore he was the more likely not to receive any.

So soon as Wayne was released from his attendance

at the Court Martial, upon the occasion in question, he rejoined the main army encamped at White Plains, a few miles to the north-eastward of New York island. While Sir Henry Clinton and the British army were feasting in New York and its vicinity, diverting themselves with balls, parties, plays, military pageants, etc., Gen. Washington and his army were enjoying little more than the mental luxury of consciousness that they were defending a glorious cause. Colonels of the Pennsylvania line were now and then detached on distant expeditions, with each of whom Wayne corresponded in a free and affectionate manner, giving them not only the current news of the day, but interesting circumstances relative to the army. Of the number detached was Col. Thomas Hartley, on a very irksome expedition against an incursive party of Indians, whom Wayne thus addressed on the subject of Col. Baylor's disaster in New Jersey. This event happened the 27th of Sept. 1778.

“DEAR HARTLEY—It is with pain I inform you of the disaster of poor Colonel Baylor, and his regiment of light dragoons. A few days since, the enemy made a descent on New Jersey, where that corps and other troops were stationed. After drawing their attention to the front, near Hackensack, a large body of British troops landed at Dobbs' ferry in the night, and by the aid and guidance of caitiff Tories, fell into the rear of Baylor, surprised him with his detachment, consisting of upwards of one hundred men, in their beds, refused any quarter, and in cold blood most barbarously and mercilessly put to the bayonet men naked and unarmed, begging for compassion, being incapable of resistance.

“Among the dead is Major Clow, with several other officers. Colonel Baylor is yet alive, but supposed to

be mortally wounded, having three stabs in his body. One officer, a captain, with ten men, was surrounded in the house where he was quartered, for the men were cantoned in different houses; he offered to surrender if they would give him quarters, which they peremptorily refused, and ordered the d——d rebel to be bayonnetted.—He had a pistol in his hand, which he fired in the face of the officer commanding the party, which opened the way for himself and companions to escape. I cannot find that they gave quarters to any—though many are still alive covered with wounds, who may yet survive to avenge the fate of their unfortunate comrades. This will be a severe stroke on the ancient dominion; as we have heard, which I sincerely hope may not turn out to be the fact, that several young fellows of family have fallen, among others a Captain Fitzew.

“The caitiffs retired with the utmost precipitation, on hearing that a body of troops were in full march to return the compliment.

“The enemy have carefully avoided a general action, but they have taken every opportunity of striking our small parties, which, as in this instance, being masters of the water, they are enabled to facilitate.

“His excellency received, some time since, a very polite letter from Sir Henry Clinton, thanking him for the humanity and attention with which the wounded and prisoners were treated after the battle of Monmouth; with an assurance that such officers and privates belonging to us, as the fortune of war should throw into his power, should experience the like treatment.

“I hope, indeed I cannot doubt, that his excellency has thanked him in turn, and solemnly assured him that he has a just sense of the acknowledgment which

he has made, and that he has cheerfully received it as a pledge that, on all future occasions, the American prisoners will experience similar humanity and attention.

“A packet has just arrived from England, we, therefore, expect a movement of some kind to take place immediately; but whether they will act in America, or withdraw their forces, time alone will determine. For my part I think D’Estaing’s fleet and Boston are the most likely objects. I am not quite so sanguine as some others about their acknowledging our independence, without a further contest, especially as they have just now sent a fresh reinforcement of 3000 men from England to New York, so that, in all probability, we may yet fight and conquer side by side. I dread infinitely more the length of the British purse than that of their bayonets. I am, with every sentiment of esteem,

“Your friend and most ob’d’t humble servant,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“*Colonel Hartley.*”

The villanous and barbarous butchery, mentioned in this letter, was perpetrated by the positive orders of Grey, (the same who commanded at the massacre near Paoli) who, it appears, was the only general officer in the British army totally devoid of humanity, and regardless of every principle of honorable warfare.

As in the early part of the campaign of 1777, so in the latter part of that of 1778, Wayne was addressed by many of his former political associates on the subject of the jarring views and interests of the people within his native state. All these communications desired his presence, for the purpose of aiding in the procurement of relief from men and measures, which, in the opinions of the writers, were rapidly degrading

Pennsylvania. It would appear that the gentlemen who addressed him, were also desirous that he should lend his presence, aid and interest in obtaining the call of a convention, for the purpose of amending the constitution of Pennsylvania.

As the principal object of this memoir is to exhibit the military, and not the political character of Gen. Wayne, only one of those addresses, and his reply, will be noticed. Their brevity, as well as the justice of showing the estimation in which Wayne was held as a private citizen, by some of the most celebrated men in the state, will be, no doubt, a sufficient apology for their introduction.

“DEAR SIR—Affairs now wear a very pleasing aspect in Pennsylvania. A majority of the members, elected for the Assembly, are sincerely and warmly disposed to rescue their country from tyranny and from contempt. In the county of Chester there has been a double return of members, and a new election may perhaps be the consequence of it. Your presence in that county and in this city, during this important conjuncture, will be of signal service in many respects; which we forbear to mention in a letter. The situation of the army will probably admit of your absence for some time from camp. Let us, therefore, have the pleasure of seeing you here as soon as possible. Matters are now approaching a crisis; and in a few weeks it will be determined whether the state of Pennsylvania shall be happy under a good constitution, or be oppressed by one of the most detestable that ever was formed. We need say no more to induce you to be with us.

“We are your very humble servants.*

*(Signed,) Thomas Mifflin, Mark Bird, Jonathan Potts, Edward Biddle, Samuel Potts, and James Wilson.

“Fredericksburg, 23d November, 1778.

“GENTLEMEN—It affords me the sincerest pleasure to hear that our state is likely to be rescued from usurpation and tyranny, with which she has too long been oppressed. She once stood on high ground, and I have the most flattering hopes that her present leaders will place her there again.

“The army is on the point of moving. As soon as we reach the place for winter quarters, I shall try to be with you, and will most cheerfully contribute my small influence towards restoring the shattered constitution of my native state. Present my best wishes to our friends in the Assembly, and believe me, with every sentiment of esteem, yours most sincerely,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“Messrs. Thomas Mifflin, etc.”

Although the returns of members for the General Assembly, in the autumn of 1778, were not made up of a majority of precisely such men as the truly patriotic had anticipated, yet an unusually large portion of talent and worth were brought into the Legislature. Of which no stronger evidence could have been given than the election of Joseph Reed to the presidency of the council, and consequently to the chief magistracy of the state. This gentleman was both an accomplished military officer, and a deeply read civilian; and under his auspices Pennsylvania rose into consequence, not only in her own estimation, but in that of the sister republics.*

* Joseph Reed, a patriot of the American revolution. In 1778, he was chosen president of Pennsylvania, and retained that office till 1781.—*Biographical Dictionary*. His death took place March 5th, 1785.

CHAPTER V.

The American army in winter quarters—Wayne's exertions to relieve their sufferings—letter to Washington—he wishes to form a light corps—passes a short time in Chester county—his correct views of the state of public affairs—his letter of Feb. 18th, 1779—formation of the light corps, and his bias in favor of an elegant uniform—his letter to Col. Stewart—he rejoins the army at Head Quarters—movements of the British—distress of the American army—Stony Point in the hands of the British—the recapture of it considered, and the enterprise intrusted to Wayne—the night of the 15th of July, 1779—the storming of Stony Point, etc.

THE American army continued at White Plains, watching the movements of the enemy, from the beginning of July till the latter end of autumn, 1778, when Washington retired to take up his winter quarters in huts which he had caused to be constructed at Middlebrook, in New Jersey. So late as the latter end of December, these huts had not yet been completed, as we find by a letter of Wayne to President Reed. The following extract presents the condition of the American army at this time.

“Millstone, 28th December, 1778.

“SIR—I should long since acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 25th of October, but expected the pleasure of waiting on you in Philadelphia. The manœuvres of the enemy, up the North river, have put us so far back in hutting, that all the Pennsylvania line are, at this inclement season, exposed to wind and

weather in their old tents, one-third of them quite destitute of blankets and without hats—suffering every possible extreme of fatigue and cold, to which the officers are also exposed, and that in a situation still more intolerable than the soldiery—the latter having good uniform coats and under clothing, whilst the former are actually so naked as not to be fit to appear on parade.

* * * * *

“I have already observed that the subject must be ungrateful, but it is a duty which I owe to my country, to myself, and to the worthy officers whom I have the honor to command, to represent their well founded complaints, founded upon facts which materially concern the honor of Pennsylvania, and the good of the service in general; in full confidence that you, sir, will lay the whole before the Legislature of the state, and give it that countenance which you think it may merit.

“I neither ask nor desire any thing on my own account. I wish for nothing more than an opportunity of returning to my *Sabine field*, with safety to my country and honor to myself.”

After he had seen the Pennsylvania line comfortably quartered in their huts, Wayne surrendered the command to Maj. Gen. St. Clair, and repaired to Philadelphia, where he addressed the commander-in-chief as follows :

“*Philadelphia, 10th Feb., 1779.*

“DEAR GENERAL—I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 20th ultimo, mentioning that I was necessitated to be here at the meeting of the Assembly of this state, and that I should take the liberty of waiting on you the first of this inst. for leave of absence. I was, unfortunately deprived the pleasure of seeing you, by passing down the Jersey shore, whilst you were on

your way for camp on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware.

“I made a point of having my people well and comfortably covered previous to my leaving them, and hope that the appearance of the men, and the regularity and internal police of our new city, have met your excellency’s approbation.

“I also flatter myself that General St. Clair will be pleased with the command of troops that always have done, and ever will do, their duty in the field; and that they, on their part, will be happy under the conduct of a gentleman of his distinguished merit; a gentleman to whom I cheerfully give place, and sincerely esteem. It is known to your excellency that, although a brigadier, I have commanded a division nearly the whole of the two last campaigns, whilst the colonels in the Pennsylvania line have, for the greater part of that time, alternately conducted brigades, on account of the deficiency of general officers; I have so much sympathy for the feelings of those officers that I cannot think of resuming the command of a brigade.

“I, therefore, wish to be indulged with a situation in the LIGHT CORPS, if it can take place without prejudice to the service, or the exclusion of an officer of more worth and experience; but if that cannot be done—I beg your excellency not to spend another thought, or give yourself a single moment’s uneasiness on the occasion—but permit me to hope for the continuance of that friendship with which you have heretofore honored me, and, in case of an active campaign, the pleasure of serving near your person as a volunteer.

“Believe me to be

“Your excellency’s most ob’t.

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“*His Excellency Gen. Washington.*”

The first hours of Gen. Wayne's relaxation from camp duty were devoted to his family and friends, in Chester county—here he passed a few days among those scenes of domestic happiness and social intercourse for which he possessed so great a predilection, but the enjoyment of which very rarely fell to his lot during an eventful life. After a short visit in Chester county, he returned to Philadelphia, where he found a letter to him from Gen. Washington, assuring him that “so soon as the army would admit of the formation of a respectable light corps, his wishes should be gratified;” and in the meantime he very cheerfully granted him leave of absence.

To this Wayne replied—

“*Philadelphia, 28th Feb., 1779.*

“DEAR GENERAL—Having been absent from this city on a visit to my farm, it was not until this moment I had the honor of receiving your favor of the 16th. It gives me sincere pleasure to find that the construction and disposition of the Pennsylvania barracks meet your approbation.

“When the arrangement of the army, and other circumstances will afford an opportunity for the formation of the light corps, *or upon any movement of the enemy*, I shall expect and be happy to receive your excellency's commands. In the interim, I have an affair of some *delicacy*, as well as matters relating to my private fortune, which claim some attention; but these shall never prevent me from doing my duty in the field, when my general or country requires my attendance.

“If it is necessary that I should be present, or that I can in the least degree assist in or facilitate the formation of the corps in which your excellency has been

so indulgent as to offer me a command, you will please to signify it; and believe me, with sincere esteem,

“Your most obedient and

“Very humble servant,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“*His Excellency General Washington.*”

During the winter, whilst in Philadelphia, Wayne received the most flattering marks of attention from the citizens, the heads of the departments, and the members of the legislative bodies, then convened in that city. But a new cause of vexation had now arisen, which he shared in common with Washington and the officers of the army, viz: the notion of peace, which was now so much talked of, and in the illusion of which, the constituted authorities overlooked the comforts of the army, not considering it necessary to provide for men whose services they infatuatedly thought would no longer be necessary. Indeed, at no period, during the revolutionary struggle, were the affairs of that glorious cause in greater jeopardy than at this crisis. The French minister, M. Gerard, had, by written communications to, and personal conference with, Congress, held out such strong expectations of a general peace throughout Christendom, that the principal anxiety which appeared to exist on the subject, both in the mind of the minister and the French court was, that America might delay, if not defeat, the desirable event, by asking more than European sovereigns would be disposed to grant; hence M. Gerard exerted his arguments and influence to induce the United States to reduce their ultimatum as low as might be compatible with their independency. The whole nation, with Congress at its head, became so infatuated with the prospect of peace, that every other public considera-

tion was sacrificed to this illusion. Says an eminent writer of the time, "Wednesday, the 30th of December, 1778, was observed, by order of Congress, as a thanksgiving day. At this very period the affairs of the United States were in the most distressed, ruinous, and deplorable condition. Idleness, dissipation, and extravagance, seemed to have laid fast hold of the generality; and speculation, speculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches, to have gotten the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men. Party disputes and personal quarrels were the great business of the day, while the momentous concerns of the empire, a great and accumulated debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and a want of credit, which is the consequence in the want of every thing, were but secondary considerations, and postponed by Congress, from time to time, as if their affairs wore the most promising aspect. The paper was sinking in Philadelphia, daily, 50 per cent., and yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner or supper, which cost £200 or £300, did not only take men off from acting, but even of thinking of this business—some of the most interested and patriotic Americans felt more real distress on account of this appearance of things, than they had done at any one time since the commencement of the dispute."

That guardian angel of the United States, the beloved Washington, seeing, knowing, and feeling this most alarming state of affairs, thus addressed "a very respectable friend, and a gentleman of splendid political talents:"

"I am particularly desirous of a free communication of sentiments with you at this time, because I view things very differently, I fear, from what people in general do, who seem to think the contest at an end,

and that to make money and get places, are the only things now remaining to be done. I have seen, without despondency, even for a moment, the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones, but I have beheld no day since the commencement of hostilities, when I have thought her liberties in such imminent danger as at present. Our enemy behold, with exultation and joy, how effectually we labor for their benefit; and, from being in a state of absolute despair, and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe. Nothing, therefore, in my judgment, can save us, but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe." He proceeds to say, "It is a fact too notorious to be concealed, that Congress is rent by party, that much business of a trifling nature and personal concernment withdraws their attention from matters of great national moment, at this critical period—when it is also known that idleness and dissipation take place of close attention and application, &c."

Gen. Wayne was fully aware of the alarming supineness which pervaded the constituted authorities of the country. Even prior to leaving the camp, he could not but perceive its indications, and he anticipated the evils which must result from the indifference with which the comforts of the army were treated. From the camp he despatched confidential officers to the seat of government, (Philadelphia) for the purpose of representing, and opening the way for redress of grievances, which both the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line were suffering. One of these officers thus animadvert upon the state of society in the metropolis at that time:—"I am distressed, my dear general, at the present prospect, I must assure you. Nothing but party reigns in different bodies. Every

thing confirms the opinion that the enemy have been too long in this country.—Permit me now to say a little of the dress, manners, and customs of the town's people. In respect to the first, great alterations have taken place since I was last here. It is all gaiety, and, from what I can observe, every lady and gentleman endeavors to outdo the other in splendor and show; the manners of the ladies are much changed; they have really, in a great measure, lost that native innocence in their manners, which formerly was their *characteristic*, and supplied its place with what they call an easy behavior, &c.

“The manner of entertaining, in this place, has likewise undergone its change. You cannot conceive any thing more elegant than the present taste; you will hardly dine at a table but they present you with three courses, and each of them in the most elegant manner.”

The dinner parties, balls, and various splendors, so freely indulged in by the officers of the British army while in Philadelphia, appear to have given a taste for, and induced much, fashionable rivalry among the opulent families of William Penn's city. We find Wayne alluding to it in the following letter:

“Philadelphia, 18th February, 1779.

“DEAR COLONEL—I have been honored with two of your favors, the one from this place, the other from Virginia; but I have never had it in my power to acknowledge them before, and I now send this as a flyer, by Major Forsyth, who passes near your winter quarters. I need not attempt to give you a description of the manners, customs, fashions and extravagance of this place, as you had a sample of them on your way through; all the difference is, that the whole rather in-

crease than diminish ; and party runs so high, that all public business is at a stand, and all public bodies lulled into an unworthy torpidity, from which nothing will rouse them but the approach of the enemy.—Apropos, while I am writing an express announces the burning of a great part of Elizabethtown, with Governor Livingston's house, &c., and that the enemy are in force two miles on this side of the town. Should they proceed further, I will join General Washington as a volunteer ; and in the interim will, as I have done ever since my arrival, enjoy every moment that I can spare, and participate in every pleasure this place affords ; and this, too, without the least contamination.

“I must do the citizens the justice to say, that they have honored me with every attention, and treated me with every possible politeness. You know that I have a fondness for ladies' society, yet, excepting the few days which I spent with my family in Chester county, I have not been at a single tea-party since my leaving the army. I have many cards of invitation, and I mean to avail myself of them ; this is an indulgence which I have some right to claim, having been sequestered nearly four years from the society of the fair, and perhaps the next fair bullet may make my *quietus* ; but a truce to this.

“A light corps, on a respectable establishment, is about to be formed. His excellency has lately written to me on the subject, and has offered me a command in it, which, under existing circumstances, I will cheerfully accept. My best wishes to all our brother officers, and believe me, yours, most respectfully,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.”

As soon as it was known that a corps of light in-

fantry was about to be composed of a select body of troops from the different regiments of the army, and that the commander-in-chief had resolved to honor Gen. Wayne with its command, the latter was addressed by many distinguished officers, both of the Pennsylvania and other lines, expressing an ardent desire to serve under him, and soliciting his interest with the commander-in-chief for that purpose—a circumstance which induced Gen. Wayne to address the following letter to Washington :

“Philadelphia, May 10th, 1779.

“Having maturely reflected on the propriety of my being present during the formation of the light corps, I am decidedly of opinion, from the numerous letters which I have received from different officers, that I had better be absent, lest it should be supposed, however erroneously, that partiality of mine for certain officers had tended to bring them into the corps. If your excellency should concur in this opinion, I then beseech you, in the meantime, to employ me in any other way by which I can render either you or my country any service.”

The commander-in-chief replied, “As soon as the light corps is organized, you shall have notice of the fact.”*

* In another letter to Washington, upon the subject of this light corps, Wayne speaks of his “insuperable bias in favor of an elegant uniform and soldierly appearance; so much so, that I would much rather risk my life and reputation, at the head of the same men, in an attack, clothed and appointed as I could wish, merely with bayonets, and a single charge of ammunition, than to take them as they appear in common, with sixty rounds of cartridges. It may be a false idea, but I cannot help cherishing it.”

Wayne now repaired to his farm, spending, with his family and friends in Chester county, the few weeks of interval that elapsed previous to his repairing to camp. The pleasure which he derived from those hours of domestic comfort and tranquillity discloses itself by the sentiments contained in the following letter, addressed to Col. Walter Stewart, one of his officers :

“Easttown, Chester county, 7th June, 1779.

“DEAR SIR—Whatever crimes I may be guilty of, want of gratitude and sincere friendship is not among the number ; but you will say, you have been guilty of neglect in not sooner acknowledging the receipt of my letter of the 3d ultimo ; true, but then the pleasure of a rural life, from which I had been so long withdrawn, the many little endearing amusements it affords, together with the thoughts of shortly bidding a long, *perhaps a last, adieu* to them, will plead powerfully in mitigation of the neglect ; especially with a gentleman informed by so congenial a spirit, and whose heart is equally susceptible with my own. Do you not often find it troublesome, and sometimes inflicting pain ? but does it not richly compensate for that ? Is it not of such a texture that, take it *“all in all,”* you would not wish to exchange it for one more callous ? You agree, and pardon me. I thank you, my dear Watt.

“Now for the field of Mars. I believe that sanguine god is rather thirsty for human gore. The horrid depredations of the enemy, to the southward, indicate an inundation of it. For my own part, I have never ceased, since the commencement of this war, sincerely to wish that it could be conducted with more liberality ; but if that is not the choice of Britain, let us, however reluctantly, adopt the alternative, by neither giving nor receiving quarter ; the sooner we

close with them on their own ground, the better—as then we shall know what we have to depend on, and our lives be no longer the sport of premeditated and cool villany, but become the price of much blood, and at too great a hazard for Britons to make many purchases.

“I expect soon to see you ; till when, and ever, believe me, yours,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.”

From the tenor of this letter, it is to be presumed that Wayne was upon the immediate point of setting out for the camp at Middlebrook. But Washington broke up the camp at that place, and had moved the army before Wayne reached it, as we find by the following :

“*Smiths in the Clove, June 21st, 1779.*

“DEAR SIR—I request that you will join the army as soon as you can. I wrote you upon this subject before we marched from Middlebrook. But as you have not arrived, it is probable my letter has miscarried, or that it did not come to hand until very lately.

“I am, dear sir, with great regard,

“Your most obedient servant,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.

“*General Wayne.*”

In obedience to this call, Wayne set off, and journeyed with such despatch, that (as it appears from a letter addressed to his family) neither himself nor servant enjoyed an hour's sleep until their arrival at Head Quarters.

The campaign of 1779 opened under circumstances the most gloomy. The winter had been permitted to pass away without the necessary preparations for a

continuance of the war. Congress and the nation, as has been said, were lulled into an almost fatal lethargy, in consequence of a belief that peace was about to take place, without further exertions to secure it.

At the time a competent army should have been in camp, the men were yet to enlist, owing to the late provisions which Congress had made for recruiting, &c. The bounty offered was so low that men could not be procured to enter the service, and the individual states had to be called on in the most pressing manner, by the commander-in-chief, and ultimately by Congress, to increase the bounty, and use every exertion to forward their respective quotas of troops.

The British, early in July, had commenced a predatory warfare. Clinton despatched troops on expeditions against the sea-ports of Virginia, as well as those in the eastern states. They issued their proclamations to the inhabitants, inviting and urging them to declare allegiance to the British monarch, George III.; and also promising all who should remain peaceably in their usual places of residence, protection in person and property, excepting the civil and military officers of government; but threatened with vengeance those who neglected the warning. An historian of the time says:—"The address, or proclamation, was merely farcical; for instead of *leaving them to consult each other on the occasion*, they employed force before the people had time to convene after the invitation was received. On the 5th the troops were landed in Connecticut, and the British generals immediately proceeded to the most shameful and wanton destruction and abuse. Towns were delivered up to promiscuous plunder—"whigs and tories had, indiscriminately, money, plate, rings, and other articles taken from them;" even cattle, by hundreds, were wantonly shot

down in the fields. At Norwalk and Fairfield, alone, the British consumed four houses of public worship, 162 dwelling-houses, 142 barns, 59 stores and shops, independently of those consumed at Green Farms, New Haven, and East Haven. During those villanous depredations, the militia of the country gave a gallant but ineffectual resistance.

In the meantime the distresses of the American army were so great that a mutiny had broken out in the New Jersey line. The Pennsylvania line also displayed a mutinous spirit; but Wayne, by his strenuous and well-timed exertions, tranquillized the officers and soldiers of that state. Washington, in his communication to Congress at this critical period, says, "that the distresses in some corps are so great, that officers have solicited even to be supplied with the clothing destined for the common soldiery, coarse and unsuitable as it is. I had not power to comply with the request. The patience of men, animated by a sense of duty and honor, will support them to a certain point, beyond which it will not go. I doubt not Congress will be sensible of the danger of an extreme in this respect, and will pardon my anxiety to obviate it."

In addition to these mortifications, Washington, who had been industriously endeavoring to fortify West Point and the Highlands of the North river, was doomed to receive another in the capture of Stony Point by the enemy. "Some miles below West Point, about the termination of the Highlands, is King's ferry, where the great road, affording the most convenient communication between the middle and eastern states, crosses the North river. The ferry is completely commanded by the two opposite points of land. The one on the west side, which is a very rough and elevated

piece of ground, is called Stony Point, and the other, on the east side, which is a flat neck of land projecting far into the water, is termed Verplank's Point. To secure those points was a matter of vast importance, both to the British and American commander-in-chief; hence the latter had extended the plan of fortifying the Highlands, so as to comprehend within it this valuable position."*

However industriously the officers who had charge of fortifying Stony and Verplank's Points, labored for that purpose, yet only on Verplank's a small but strong work had been completed and garrisoned by 70 men, under Captain Armstrong, whilst the works on Stony Point, of much greater extent, and of incomparably more importance, were unfinished.

To arrest the progress of these fortifications, Sir Henry Clinton sailed with a fleet up the Hudson, and landed his troops in two divisions; the one under Gen. Vaughan, destined against the works at Verplank's, on the east side of the river—the other, which he commanded in person, against those of Stony Point, on the west side. The fortifications on Stony Point being unfinished, were abandoned without resistance, on the approach of the enemy, who instantly commenced dragging some heavy cannon and mortars to the summit of the hill, and on the next morning, about sunrise, opened a battery on Fort Fayette, erected on Verplank's, the distance across being about one thousand yards. The cannonade during the day, from the very commanding position of Stony Point, as also from vessels and gun-boats in the river, occasioned much injury to the fort; which, being invested both by water and land, and no means of saving the garrison now re-

* See *The Casket*, page 304.

maining, Captain Armstrong, (who had the command) after a gallant resistance, was compelled to surrender himself and troops prisoners of war. Sir Henry proceeded immediately to place both forts in what he supposed a perfect state of defence, especially that of Stony Point, which he garrisoned with 600 men, under the command of an officer distinguished for his bravery and circumspection.

Sir Henry, in consequence of the advance of Washington towards West Point, declined a further movement up the Hudson, and retired with his army to Phillipsburg, about half way down towards New York city, with the view of being ready to support Stony and Verplank points, or any other of his garrisons on the river, in the event of an attack upon them.

The capture of Stony Point had occurred before the arrival of Wayne at Head Quarters. The recapture of this important post was now the object of Gen. Washington; and, so soon as Wayne arrived, a corps of light infantry was formed, the command given to him, and a service worthy of the corps and their leader, assigned to them.

“Stony Point is a commanding hill projecting far into the Hudson, which washes three-fourths of its base. The remaining fourth is, in a great measure, covered by a deep marsh, commencing near the river on the upper side, and continuing into it below. Over this marsh there is only one crossing place. But at its junction with the river is a sandy beach, passable at low water. On the summit of this hill was erected a fort, which was furnished with a sufficient number of heavy pieces of ordnance. Several breastworks and strong batteries were advanced in front of the principal work, and about half way down the hill were two rows of abatis. The batteries were calculated to command

the beach and the crossing place of the marsh, and to rake and enfilade any column which might be advancing from either of those points towards the fort. In addition to these defences, several vessels of war were stationed in the river, so as, in a considerable degree, to command the ground at the foot of the hill." *

The following was the correspondence between Gen. Washington and Gen. Wayne in relation to the contemplated recapture of this fortress :

“*New Windsor, July 1st, 1779.*”

“DEAR SIR—Herewith you will be pleased to receive general instructions for your conduct. This you will consider as private and confidential. The importance of the two posts of Verplank’s and Stony Point, to the enemy, is too obvious to need explanation. We ought, if possible, to dispossess them. I recommend it to your particular attention, without delay, to gain as exact knowledge as you can of the number of the garrisons; the state of the creeks that surround the former; the nature of the ground in the vicinity of both; the position and strength of the fortifications; the situation of the guards; the number and stations of the vessels in the river, and the precautions in general which the enemy employ for their security.

“It is a matter which I have *much at heart*, to make some attempt upon these posts, in the present state of the garrisons, and before the enemy commence any other operations, if warranted by a probability of success.

“I must entreat your best endeavours to acquire the

* Marshall’s Life of Washington.

necessary information, after having obtained which, I shall thank you for your opinion of the practicability of a surprise of one or both these places, *especially* that on the west side of the river.

"I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"*Brigadier Gen. Wayne.*"

Fort Montgomery, 3d July, 1779.

"DEAR GENERAL—In obedience to your excellency's orders, I have reconnoitred the situation of the enemy's works on Stony Point, and the approaches to them, in the best manner that circumstances would admit, and returned late last evening to this place.

* * * * *

"Upon the whole, I do not think a storm practicable, but perhaps a surprise may be effected, could we fall on some stratagem to draw them out. A thought has struck me, that as no party of force has ever yet been down, or appeared to the enemy, and as I have ground to believe that an inhabitant living near to Stony Point acts a double part, and, of course, will give them every information in his power, which goes no further than to the usual route and number of the reconnoitring parties, they may be induced to attempt an ambuscade; or, if they should not attempt this, a few of our people appearing near, may bring a pretty strong party out in pursuit, which may give our troops an opening to *enter with them.*

"Should your excellency incline to reconnoitre the works to-morrow, or next day, I will have a proper disposition made of the light corps, so as effectually to cover you; or, whenever you may order it, I will attempt the surprise, in case it meets your approbation. The

troops at the forest of Dane may co-operate with us, if thought necessary.

“Interim, I am your excellency’s ob’t servant,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“*General Washington.*”

On the 10th of July, an interview took place between Washington and Wayne, in which they discussed the project of storming Stony Point. In the course of their conference, Wayne, emphatically to express his willingness to undertake the perilous enterprise, is said to have remarked. “General, if *you* will only plan it, I will storm *Hell!*”

This conference was the cause of the following letter :

“*Head Quarters, July 14th, 1779.*

“DEAR SIR—I have reflected on the advantages and disadvantages of delaying the proposed attempt, and I do not know but the former preponderate. You will, therefore carry it into execution to-morrow night, as you desire, unless some new motive, or better information, should induce you to think it best to defer it.

“You are at liberty to *choose* between the different plans on which we have conversed. But as it is important to have every information we can procure, if you could manage, in the meantime, to see Major Lee, it might be useful. He has been so long near the spot, and has taken so much pains to inform himself, critically, concerning the post, that I imagine he may be able to make you acquainted with some further details. Your interview must be managed with caution, or it may possibly raise suspicion.

“I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

“GEO. WASHINGTON.

“*General Wayne.*”

“Fort Montgomery, 14th July, 1779.

“DEAR GENERAL—I am this moment honored with yours of this day, and note the contents. I shall effect the interview in a manner the least suspicious. *Every thing* will be in readiness the time you mention. I shall do myself the honor to enclose you the plan and disposition of attack to-morrow.

“Your excellency’s obedient humble servant,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“General Washington.”

On the following day he again wrote to Washington, communicating the progress of his arrangements for the attack, as follows :

“11 o’clock, A. M.

“DEAR GENERAL—On the 11th, Colonels Butler, Febiger, and myself, reconnoitred the enemy’s works at Stony Point, in the most satisfactory manner possible ; and I am decidedly of opinion that two real attacks, and one feint, ought to be made, agreeably to the enclosed plan and disposition, which I now do myself the honor to transmit.

“I perfectly agree with your excellency, that an enterprise of this nature does not so much depend upon numbers as on secrecy and prowess ; yet the mass of our soldiery will derive confidence from the reputation of numbers. From this conviction, I have taken the liberty to order Col. Ball’s regiment, stationed at Rose’s farm, to follow in my rear, and I shall give out that the whole Virginia line are to support us. It can have no bad effect, but it may have a very happy one.

“I have taken every possible precaution to secure the passes leading to Stony Point ; for which purpose, I have detached three small parties of picked men, under prudent and vigilant officers, with directions to

approach near the ravine a little before night, so as to reconnoitre, and fix on the proper places to plant their sentries, as soon as it is dark ; also, to secure certain persons to serve as guides. I shall meet Major Lee at Clement's, or between that and Storm's.

"I am pleased at the prospect of the day, and have the most happy presages of the fortune of the night.

"Adieu, my dear general, and believe me, with every sentiment of esteem, your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

"ANTHONY WAYNE."

This night—the 15th of July, 1779—was the time fixed upon for the storming of Stony Point, one of the most daring and enterprising exploits that the page of history records. The danger of the undertaking, and the importance of succeeding in it, as viewed by Washington and Wayne, may be inferred from the particularity of the orders issued by the latter immediately preceding the attempt.

General orders and disposition for the attack.

"The troops will march at — o'clock, and move by the right, making a short halt at the creek, or run, on this side next Clement's ; every officer and non-commissioned officer will remain with, and be answerable for, every man in his platoon ; no soldier to be permitted to quit his ranks on any pretext whatever, until a general halt is made, and then to be attended by one of the officers of the platoon.

"When the head of the troops arrive in rear of the hill, Col. Febiger will form his regiment into a solid column of a half platoon, in front, as fast as they come up ; Col. Meigs will form next, in Col. Febiger's rear,

and Maj. Hull in the rear of Meigs, which will form the right column.

“Col. Butler will form a column on the left of Febiger, and Maj. Murfree in his rear. Every officer and soldier will then fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his hat or cap, as a mark to distinguish him from the enemy. At the word *march*, Col. Fleury will take charge of one hundred and fifty determined and picked men, properly officered, with arms unloaded, placing their *whole* dependence on fixed bayonets, who will move about twenty paces in front of the right column, and enter the sally-port marked; he is to detach an officer and twenty men, a little in front, whose business will be to secure the sentries, and remove the abatis and obstructions, for the column to pass through. The column will follow close in the rear, with shouldered muskets, led by Col. Febiger and Gen. Wayne in person. When the works are forced, and *not before*, the victorious troops will give the watchword, ———, with repeated and loud voices, and drive the enemy from their works and guns, which will favor the pass of the whole troops. Should the enemy refuse to surrender, or attempt to make their escape by water, or otherwise, effectual means must be used to effect the former and prevent the latter.

“Colonel Butler will move by the route (2) preceded by one hundred chosen men, with fixed bayonets, properly officered, at the distance of twenty yards, in front of the column, which will follow under Colonel Butler, with shouldered muskets. These hundred will also detach a proper officer and twenty men, a little in front, to remove the obstructions, &c.; as soon as they gain the works, they will also give, and continue the watchword, which will prevent confusion and mistake. If any soldier presume to take his musket from his

“The general has the fullest confidence in the bravery and fortitude of the corps that he has the happiness to command. The distinguished honor conferred on every officer and soldier, who has been drafted into this corps by his excellency, General Washington, the credit of the states they respectively belong to, and their own reputations, will be such powerful motives for each man to distinguish himself, that the general cannot have the least doubt of a glorious victory ; and he, hereby, most solemnly engages to reward the first man who enters the works with five hundred dollars and immediate promotion ; to the second, four hundred dollars ; to the third, three hundred dollars ; to the fourth two hundred dollars ; and to the fifth, one hundred dollars ; and he will represent the conduct of every officer and soldier, who distinguishes himself in this action, in the most favorable point of view to his excellency, whose greatest pleasure is rewarding merit. But should there be any soldier so lost to feeling of honor, as to attempt to retreat one single foot, or skulk in the face of danger, the officer next to him is immediately to put him to death, that he may no longer disgrace the name of a soldier, or the corps, or the state to which he belongs.

“As General Wayne is determined to share the danger of the night, so he wishes to participate in the glory of the day, in common with his fellow soldiers.”

The night had already settled down, when the advancing column of the Americans emerged from a thick wood on the shore of the Hudson ; the dim and shadowy prospect disclosing to their sight Verplank's Point, buried in a mass of shadow on the other side of the river, while before them rose the dark, gloomy, and frowning craggy heights of Stony Point, surmounted by a fort that was now deemed impregnable, and the

capture of which was, by most persons, regarded as impossible. But to the high heart and daring spirit of Anthony Wayne, danger in the service of his country was delight, and he moved forward on his gallant purpose with an unwavering determination.

A turn in the road soon hid them from the river; and, after a silent march of some minutes, they arrived within a short distance of the enemy's line, and halting at the command of Wayne, formed into columns for the attack. Beginning again their silent progress, they presently reached the marshy ground at the base of the hill. "Hist!" said Wayne, in a low voice from the front—"Halt." The order passed in a whisper down the line, and the column paused on the edge of the morass. It was a moment of suspense and peril. Every man felt that in a few moments the fate of their hazardous enterprise would be decided, and that they would be either cold in death, or the American flag floating in triumph over the dark promontory ahead, now scarcely discernible through the thick gloom of the midnight. "The troops remained in this position," says Gen. Wayne,* "until the principal officers, with myself, returned from reconnoitering the works. At half after eleven, being the hour fixed on, the whole moved forward." The pioneers, with axes, reached the abatis, and their rapid blows rung upon the night, when suddenly the shout of alarm broke from the fort, the gun of a sentry flashed through the gloom, and in an instant all was uproar and confusion within the astonished fortification.

It was now twenty minutes past twelve o'clock. Not a moment was to be lost. "Advance! advance!"

*In a letter to Washington, dated "Stony Point, July 17th, 1779."

shouted Wayne, waving his sword, as he pressed rapidly onwards to the abatis, followed in death-like silence by his indomitable troops.

“To arms!” came borne on the night breeze from the fort—“to arms! to arms!”—mingled with the quick roll of the drum. In an instant the British were at their posts. The gallant Americans continued their silent but steady march through the morass, now overflowed by the tide. Thrilling were the moments during which they maintained their progress. The fire of the enemy burst upon them from every embrasure of the fort. “Neither the deep morass,” says Wayne,* “the formidable and double rows of abatis, nor the high and strong works in front and flank, could damp the ardour of the troops, who, in the face of a most tremendous and incessant fire of musketry, and from artillery loaded with shells and grape-shot, forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, both columns meeting in the centre of the enemy’s works at the same instant.”

On—on—they had pressed amid the whirlwind of fire from the fort, over the abatis and bulwarks, until the British, borne back by their impetuous onset, quailed before them. Then, and not till then, was the death-like silence broken. A sound rung out from the victorious troops over all the thunder of battle. It was the watchword of success. It was heard by the head of the column behind, it passed down their line, was caught up by the rear, and a wild shout, making the very welkin tremble, rang out. Indeed, the enthusiasm of the victors cannot be described. But though the contest had been so bloody, not a man of the enemy fell after resistance had ceased. “The humanity of

* Letter of July 17th.

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our brave soldiers," says Wayne,* "who scorned to take the lives of vanquished foes calling for mercy, reflects the highest honor on them, and accounts for so few of the enemy being killed on the occasion,"

The morning gun announced to the British fleet in the river that *Stony Point was again in possession of the Americans.*

The loss of the assailants fell far short of the apparent hazard of the enterprise. The killed and wounded did not exceed one hundred.—"Wayne's own escape on this occasion was of the hair-breadth kind. Struck on the head by a musket-ball, he fell; but, immediately rising on one knee, he exclaimed, "*March on—carry me into the fort—for should the wound be mortal, I will die at the head of the column.*" The enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to six hundred and seven men.†

Washington in his reports to Congress, says of Wayne; "To the encomiums he has deservedly bestowed on the officers and men under his command, it gives me pleasure to add, that his own conduct, throughout the whole of this arduous enterprise, merits the warmest approbation of Congress. He improved on the plan recommended by me, and executed it in a manner that does honor to his judgment and bravery."‡

A very distinguished public writer of that day, speaking of the capture of Stony Point, says, "great is the triumph of the Americans upon the success of this en-

* Letter of July 17th.

† Sparks' Biography.—"The loss of the enemy was sixty-three killed; Lieut. Col. Johnston, four captains, and twenty subaltern officers, together with the remainder of the garrison, were made prisoners of war, amounting to 543. The military stores captured were extensive and valuable."—*Casket*, p. 311.

‡ Sparks' Writings of Washington.

terprise, and justly, for it would have done honor to the most veteran troops, and, notwithstanding the provocations given by the plunderings and burnings at New Haven, East Haven, Fairfield, and Green-Farms, of which they had heard, such was the humanity of the continental soldiers, that they scorned to take the lives of their foe, calling for mercy—so that there were but few of the enemy killed on the occasion.”

In Congress, July 26th, 1779, it was “Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of Congress be presented to Brigadier-General Wayne, for his brave, prudent, and soldierly conduct, in the spirited and well conducted attack of Stony Point.”*

Of the congratulatory letters received by him from a great number of distinguished men, we have room for only four. General St. Clair wrote as follows :

New Windsor, July 17th, 1779.

“DEAR GENERAL—It is with true pleasure that I received the news of your success at Stony Point, on which I beg leave to present you my cordial congratulations.

“It is an event that makes a very great alteration in the situation of affairs, and must have important consequences, and is the more glorious from its having been effected with so little loss. It is, in short, the completest surprise I ever heard of.

“Please to present my compliments to the gentlemen of your family, and all our friends, and believe me, with much esteem, dear general,

“Your very humble servant,

“ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

“*General Wayne.*”

* Extract from the minutes.

“Philadelphia, August 6th, 1779.

“MY DEAR SIR—There was but one thing wanting, in your late successful attack upon Stony Point, to complete your happiness : and that is, the wound you received should have affected your *hearing* ; for I fear you will be stunned, through those organs, with your own praises. Our streets, for many days, rang with nothing but the name of General Wayne. You are remembered constantly next to our great and good Washington, over our claret and madeira. You have established the national character of our country ; you have taught our enemies that bravery, humanity, and magnanimity, are the national virtues of the Americans.

“Accept, my dear sir, of *my* share of gratitude for the honor and services you have done our cause and country. Mrs. Rush joins in the offering ; and when our little ones are able to repeat your name, we shall not fail to tell them, in recounting the exploits of our American heroes, how much they are indebted to *you* for their freedom and happiness.

“Adieu, my dear friend, and be assured of the sincere affection of

“Yours, most sincerely,

“BENJAMIN RUSH.

“*General Wayne.*”

“Berkley County, August 11th, 1779.

“DEAR SIR—You will do me the justice to acknowledge, that at the time I was taught to think, I am sure without foundation, that you were one of the most active in my prosecution, I gave it as my opinion that you were a brave officer and an honest man. You must likewise recollect, that when you sent me a *certain message* at Elizabethtown, I told you that if I was appointed to a command, and had my choice of

brigadiers, you should be one of my first election. I hope, therefore, that what I am now going to say you will not consider as paying my court in this your hour of glory ; for as it is at least my present intention to leave this continent, where I have been so scurvily and ungratefully treated, I can have no interest in paying my court to any individual. What I shall say, therefore, is dictated by the genuine feeling of my heart. I do most sincerely declare, that your action in the assault of Stony Point, is not only the most brilliant, in my opinion, through the whole course of the war on either side, but that it is one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history. The assault of Schweidnitz, by Marshal Laudun, I think inferior to it. I wish you therefore, most sincerely, joy of the laurels you have deservedly acquired, and that you may long live to wear them ; and if you have leisure, as I am curious in these details, to inform me of the particular order of your disposition, you will much oblige one who is, without flattery, with respect, and no small admiration,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ CHARLES LEE.

“ *Brigadier-General Wayne.*”

“ *Havre de Grace, (France) October 7th, 1779.*

“ DEAR SIR—With the greatest pleasure I take this opportunity of congratulating you on your admirable expedition at Stony Point.

“ Besides the general and hearty satisfaction I feel from any advantage which may bless the arms of my fellow-American soldiers, I was particularly delighted in hearing that this *glorious affair* had been conducted by my good friend General Wayne.

“ I beg, my dear sir, you would present my compli-

ments to my friends and acquaintances in the army ;
and believe me, most affectionately, yours,

“LA FAYETTE.” *

The ball which wounded Wayne at the storming of Stony Point, grazed his skull nearly two inches in length, under the hair. The infantry cap which he wore on that night, and which was perforated by the ball, was of beaver, having a crest neatly ornamented with horse-hair. The wound speedily healed, and, in a few days, he was again ready and eager for active service.

The campaign of 1779 closed by Washington taking up his winter quarters at Morristown, N. J.; and on the 26th of December, Sir Henry Clinton, with a large army, sailed with a fleet of 110 sail to the south, leaving Gen. Kniphausen, with a sufficient force, in command of New York. The command of Wayne having ceased, in consequence of the corps of light infantry rejoining their respective lines, he took an affectionate leave of Washington and his brother officers, repaired to the seat of government, and immediately recommenced his exertions in stimulating the councils of the nation, especially those of his native state, in behalf of our suffering soldiery, nearly one-half of whom were at this time barefooted, and otherwise destitute of comforts.

* La Fayette had, in January, 1779, returned to France, for the purpose of exerting every means in his power to induce his country to send effectual aid to the United States. In May, 1780, he returned.

CHAPTER VI.

The campaign of 1780—La Fayette's return to America, with the tidings of effectual assistance from the French government—Wayne joins the camp at Morristown, N. J.—Incursions of the British into Jersey—Gallant expedition of Wayne into Bergen Neck—his account of the affair—Allusions of Major Andre to the father of Wayne—Ridicule of Washington, Wayne, and other officers of the Americans, by the British officers, on the stage at the theatre in New York—Treason of Arnold—Capture of Major Andre—The character of Arnold as drawn by Wayne—The American army in winter quarters—their distressed condition—Mutiny, on the 1st of January, 1781, of the Pennsylvania line, etc.

THE campaign of 1780 opened under prospects of many encouraging circumstances. La Fayette returned from France about the middle of May, and communicated to the commander-in-chief and to Congress the pleasing intelligence that a French fleet, with a powerful detachment of land forces, might be speedily expected on the coast. But this pleasure was soon depressed by the intelligence that reached the northern states, of the fall of Charleston, S. C., into the hands of the British, the capitulation of which city took place on the 12th of May. Washington, while the main army of the enemy was operating in the south, "was confined to the irksome and inglorious task of watching, from his encampment at Morristown, the motions of the British on New York island, and of restraining their incursions into the adjacent country."*

* Frost's United States.

His forces were weakened by the departure from his camp of reinforcements, which it was necessary he should send to the American army in the south; "and never did distress press more heavily upon him."

But the joyful news of the French assistance had the effect of rousing the nation from its lethargy. Congress and the executives of the different states, especially the inestimable governor of Pennsylvania, (Joseph Reed,) exerted themselves to make such arrangements as the crisis demanded; and the patriotic merchants of Philadelphia proceeded to the establishment of a bank, with a capital of £315,000, to be paid in specie, if required, the object of which was to supply the army with provisions, &c.

The stockholders were to derive no advantage from the establishment; their credit and money were to be advanced for the benefit of the continental army. They asked nothing more than that Congress should pledge the faith of the nation for a redemption of the costs and charges of the institution in a reasonable time. These stipulations were entered into, and the bank speedily went into operation, and was productive of very happy effects. In addition to this, the ladies of Philadelphia most nobly and patriotically subscribed \$300,000 for the immediate relief of the suffering soldiers, which example was extensively followed. Yet those, with other sources of relief, fell far short of their objects.*

* Congress, from Washington's repeated representations by letter, and Wayne's personal urgency, sent a committee to the camp. This committee, after a full inquiry, reported that "The army was unpaid for five months; that it seldom had more than six days' provisions in advance, and was on several occasions, for sundry successive days, without meat; that the army was destitute of forage; that the medical de-

On the 18th of May, Washington addressed a letter to Gen. Wayne in which he says, "I shall be very happy to see you at camp again, and hope you will, without hesitation, resume your command in the Pennsylvania line." To which Wayne replied, (from Philadelphia, June 1st,) that he would render himself "in camp the latter end of next week;" and which promise he fulfilled.

At this crisis, Sir Henry Clinton had returned from the South, and he and Kniphausen were making incursions into Jersey, and enlisting Tories and refugees, of which they had four thousand at their command. Their object was to capture or destroy the military stores deposited at Morristown, and in its neighborhood, and to cut up the small army which might have the gallantry to attempt its defence.* To mask his real view, he embarked troops and made such preparations at New York as indicated an immediate move up the North river. As soon as Gen. Washington received intelligence of this circumstance, that he might be prepared to defend West Point and the strongholds in the Highlands, he marched with the principal part of his army towards those points on the 21st of June, leaving at Springfield the remainder, consisting of 700 men, together with

partment had neither sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, or spirituous liquors of any kind; that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the shadow of credit left; that the patience of the soldiers, borne down by the pressure of complicated sufferings, was on the point of being exhausted."

* The British regular force in New York, at this time, was 12,000. The whole, under the immediate command of Washington, fell short of 3,000. The greater part of the British could be speedily concentrated for any object; in addition to which, they could call to their aid the 4,000 refugees.

the cavalry and militia, under command of Maj. Gen. Greene. As Gen. Washington was resolved not to march beyond supporting distance of Gen. Greene, his movement was necessarily slow; and he had not advanced more than eleven miles from Morristown, on the 22d, when he was informed that the most probable design of the British was the stores, &c. He therefore halted. On the morning of the 23d, further suspense was removed by a messenger from Greene, dated "Springfield, 23d, six o'clock, A. M.—The enemy are out on their march towards this place in full force, having received a considerable reinforcement last night."

So soon as this intelligence reached Washington, he detached a brigade, under Wayne, from the main army, to hang on the right flank of the enemy; but the action was over, and the British had retreated before the brigade, with every exertion, could gain its position. The following correspondence occurred on this occasion:

"Chatham, 23d June, 1780—8 o'clock, P. M.

"DEAR GENERAL—You no doubt have heard that the enemy, after burning Springfield, are retired to their former post on Elizabethtown Point. Their number, from the best observation, did not exceed 4,000. They brought out three days' provisions, which probably is to serve them until they reach the vicinity of West Point. I have not yet seen Gen. Greene; but from good intelligence, the grenadiers and light infantry, composing two battalions, together with all the other troops lately arrived from Charlestown, except the legion, embarked last evening, but had not sailed this morning. May they not wait the return of those who marched from the point this morning, and proceed in conjunction up the river, in full confidence that

this manœuvre has drawn your excellency's attention to this quarter?

"I shall in consequence move along the mountain towards Passaic falls, in the morning, unless countermanded by your excellency or General Greene.

"Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

"ANTHONY WAYNE.

"*Gen. Washington.*"

"*Whippany, 11 o'clock, P. M.—23d June, 1780.*

"DEAR SIR—Some time before the receipt of your favor, I was informed that the enemy had returned to their station at Elizabethtown Point. It is certainly difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain their views. I, however, all things considered, wish to keep our force as compact as possible, and therefore wish you, if you find in the morning that the enemy are quiet or gone over to Staten Island, to return by the same route you marched to-day.

"I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"*General Wayne.*"

It has already been mentioned that Sir Henry Clinton had, at any time, subject to his command 4000 militia and refugees. Many persons of this latter description resided in Bergen Neck, New Jersey, and were in the practice of stealing from the well affected inhabitants horses, cattle, &c. for the use of the British army. The principal leaders of this banditti had erected for the defence of themselves, associates and plunder, a remarkably strong and large block-house, which was said to have been constructed under the immediate superintendence of an engineer attached to the British army. This block-house was well garrisoned with

refugees, Tories, and all the banditti, robbers and horse-thieves of that country, and fully supplied with the means of defence. The capture of the horses, cattle, &c., together with the destruction of this post, was deemed a matter of considerable importance, as it must necessarily result in the breaking up of this horde of freebooters. With the view, therefore, of breaking up this "lawless and mischievous establishment, to withdraw from the isthmus supplies of cattle and horses intended for the use of the enemy, to decoy into the defiles near Fort Lee any British detachment sent for the protection of the block-house, and, lastly, to make such demonstrations as might detain in port for a few days an armament known to be destined against the French fleet and army then at Rhode Island,* formed the objects of an enterprise projected by Wayne and approved by Washington."†

In pursuance of this plan, Wayne with the 1st and 2d Pennsylvania brigades, with four pieces of artillery, on the 20th of July, at 3 o'clock, P. M. took up the line of march, and arrived a little in the rear of New Bridge at nine in the evening. They moved again at one in the night, in order to occupy the ground in the vicinity of Fort Lee, and the landing opposite King's Bridge, by the dawn of day. They advanced towards Bull's ferry, Gen. Irvine, with part of his brigade along the summit of the mountain, and the first brigade, under Col. Humpton, with the artillery and Col. Moylan's horse, on the open road. Col. Moylan, with the horse and a detachment of infantry, remained at the

* Which had arrived at Newport, on the 10th of July, under the command of Chevalier de Fernay, with 6000 land troops, under the Count de Rochambeau.

† Sparks' Biography.

forks of the road leading to Bergen and Paulus Hook, to receive the enemy if they attempted any thing from that quarter. "On reconnoitering the enemy's post at Bull's ferry," says Wayne,* "we found it to consist of a block-house, surrounded by an abatis and stockade to the perpendicular rocks next North river, with a kind of ditch or parapet serving as a covered way. By this time we could discover a move of troops on York Island, which circumstance began to open a prospect of our plan taking the wished effect. General Irvine was therefore directed to halt in a position from which he could move to any point where the enemy should attempt to land, either in the vicinity of this post or Fort Lee, where the sixth and seventh Pennsylvania regiments were previously concealed, with orders to meet the enemy, and, after landing, with the point of the bayonet to dispute the pass in the gorge of the mountain, at every expense of blood, until supported by General Irvine and the remainder of the troops. The first regiment was posted in a hollow way on the north of the block-house, and the tenth in a hollow on the south, with orders to keep up an incessant fire into the port-holes, to favor the advance of the artillery covered by the second regiment.—When the four field pieces belonging to Colonel Proctor's regiment arrived at the medium distance of sixty yards, they commenced a fire which continued without intermission from eleven until quarter after twelve, at which time we received expresses from Closter, that the enemy were embarking their troops at Phillips', and falling down the river. We also saw many vessels and boats, full of troops, moving up from New York, which made it necessary to relinquish the lesser for the greater

* Letter to Washington, dated Totoway, 22d July, 1780.

object;—i. e. drawing the enemy over towards the posts already mentioned, and deciding the fortune of the day in the defiles, through which they must pass before they could gain possession of the strong grounds.”

“In the meantime,” continues Wayne, “we found that our artillery had made but little impression, although well and gallantly served, not being of sufficient weight of metal to traverse the logs of the block-house. As soon as the troops understood that they were to be drawn off, such was the enthusiastic bravery of all officers and men, that the first regiment, no longer capable of restraint, rather than leave a fort in their rear, rushed with impetuosity over the abatis, and advanced to the palisades, from which they were with difficulty withdrawn, although they had no means of forcing an entry. The contagion spread to the second, and by great efforts of the officers of both regiments they were at length restrained, not without the loss of some gallant officers wounded, and some brave men killed. Happy it was that the ground would not admit of a further advance of the tenth, and that the situation of General Irvine’s brigade prevented them from experiencing a loss proportionate to those immediately at the point of action, as the same gallant spirit pervaded the whole, which would have been the means of encumbering us with wounded. The artillery was immediately drawn off and forwarded towards the wished-for point of action; the killed and wounded were all moved on, excepting three that lay dead under the stockades. During this period Colonel Moylan’s dragoons drove off the cattle and horses from Bergen, whilst a detachment of the infantry destroyed the sloops and wood boats at the landing, in which were taken a captain with a few sailors. Some others were killed

whilst attempting to escape by swimming. Having thus effected part of our plan, we pushed forward to oppose the troops from Voluntine's hill, where we expected to land at the nearest point to New Bridge, which, if effected, we were determined either to drive back the enemy, or cut our way through them; but in the doing of either we were disappointed. The enemy thought proper to remain in a less dangerous situation than that of the Jersey shore. We therefore passed on to New Bridge, and by easy degrees we have returned to this place.

"One object, not the least," remarks Wayne, "was to divert the enemy's attention from their meditated attempt upon Rhode Island, in a combined attack by land and water on the French fleet and army at that place. Six thousand were actually embarked, who have been delayed by this manœuvre, for four days, a circumstance which will render their meditated attack abortive."*

It has been said that Gen. Wayne's expedition to Bergen Neck afforded a theme for the poetical pen of the Adjutant-General of the British army, the ill fated, though accomplished, Maj. John André. The verses were, and perhaps yet are, exhibited in Peale's museum, Philadelphia, and are pronounced to be autographical. In this playful sally of the major's muse, Gen. Wayne is represented in the character of a tanner, driving off cattle for the sake of their hides, &c.

In the commencement of this memoir, it is said that Isaac Wayne, the father of the American General, was "a man of great industry and enterprise" which was the fact. To agriculture, on a very extensive scale, he added a tan factory, perhaps, in its day, the largest in

* Letter to Colonels Delany and Johnstone, 26th July, 1780.

the State of Pennsylvania; this, together with the farm on which it was erected, descended, in 1774, to his son, the subject of this memoir; however, neither the father nor son were professional tanners.

From the appended memorandum,* copied from one of Wayne's ledgers, it would appear that if he had actually been a tanner, (and no mechanical branch is more honorable) and had he personally pursued his business during the Revolutionary war, he would not, in all probability, have sustained the pecuniary loss which it records.

While the British army was reposing in ease at New York, the officers occasionally amused themselves with writing comedies, interludes, and farces—and themselves were the personæ dramatis. “Among others, they got up an *interlude*, in which Washington was represented as a surveyor, Greene as a gunsmith, Wayne as a tanner, and other American officers in different mechanical professions—all of whom were exhibited on the stage, in dresses, and with instruments suited to their respective occupations; for instance, Washington carrying a surveyor's jacob staff of huge size, accompanied by a negro man, groaning under the weight of a compass, and dragging a chain more resembling one

* “Mr. Shannon has sunk for me since the beginning of January, 1776, until he went away, upwards of two thousand four hundred pounds in stock, exclusive of the interest for near eight years. Nor do I believe that he made much for himself, although he has certainly injured me to the full amount of three thousand six hundred pounds, counting only the principal and interest; had he managed my stock in trade to that advantage which others have done in the course of the late war, I ought to have, at a moderate computation, *seven thousand pounds in stock*, in place of *nothing*.”

ANTHONY WAYNE.

March, 1784.

used by bullocks than a surveyor; Greene with a hammer, an unwieldy old gun and broken lock in his hand; Wayne with a huge currying knife, and a leathern apron buckled round his neck, and extending down to his feet.

“This interlude was too good a thing to be lost; it was therefore, (as reported,) carried across the Atlantic by a British sergeant, who himself had probably been one of the personæ dramatis in America. At the instance of this son of Mars, the interlude was got up in England, under the auspices of the manager of a strolling company, with additions, amendments, new scenery, decorations, &c.

“On one of the nights of its being performed, and just as the curtain was dropping to close this ludicrous scene, amidst the plaudits of the spectators, an American tar in the gallery vociferated, “Honor to my country, disgrace to old England for suffering their hides to be *dressed*, and their heads broken, by American tanners and gunsmiths.” This piece of well-timed humor bore off the palm of applause from the interlude, and consigned it to the tomb of the Capulets.” *

On the 25th of September, 1780, the capture of Maj. André took place, and the treason of Arnold was discovered. In the following letter, under date of the 27th September, addressed by Wayne to a member of Congress, he thus describes the character of the traitor, and we have a glance at his own movements:

“I am confident that the perfidy of Gen. Arnold will astonish the public; the high rank he bore, the eclat he had obtained, whether deserving or not, justified the world in giving it him. But there were a few gentlemen who, at a very early period of this war, became

* Casket, p. 398.

acquainted with his true character. When you asked my opinion of that officer last winter, I gave it freely, and, I believe, you thought it rather strongly shaded.

"I think that I informed you I had the most despicable idea of him, both as a gentleman and a soldier, and that he had produced a conviction to me in 1776, that honor and true virtue were strangers to his soul; and, however contradictory it might appear, that he never possessed either genuine fortitude or personal bravery, and that he rarely went in the way of danger, but when stimulated by liquor, even to intoxication.

"I shall not dwell upon his military character, or the measures he had adopted for the surrender of West Point; the latter have, no doubt, been already fully mentioned by the commander-in-chief in his despatches. But I will give you a small specimen of his peculate talents.

"What think you of his employing sutlers to retail the public liquors for his private emolument, and furnishing his quarters with beds and other furniture, by paying for them with pork, salt, flour, &c., drawn from the magazines? He has not stopped here; he has descended much lower, and defrauded the veteran soldier who has bled for his country in many a well-fought field, during five campaigns; among others, an old sergeant of mine has felt his rapacity. By the industry of this man's wife, they had accumulated something handsome to support themselves in their advanced age, which, coming to the knowledge of this cruel spoiler, he borrowed a large sum of money from the poor credulous woman, and left her in the lurch. The dirty, dirty acts which he has been capable of committing, beggar all description; and they are of such a nature as would cause the infernals to blush, were they accused of the invention and execution of them.

“The detached and debilitated state of the garrison on West Point, insured success to the assailants. The enemy were all in perfect readiness for the enterprise, and only waited the return of André to carry it into execution. The 26th was the day fixed on for this exploit, and the discovery of Arnold’s treachery was not made until late on the 25th. At 12 o’clock of the morning of the 26th, an express reached General Greene from his excellency, (who had fortunately arrived at West Point on his return from Hartford,) to push on the nearest and best disciplined troops, with orders to gain the defile or pass over the Dunderburg before the enemy. The first Pennsylvania brigade moved immediately; and, on the arrival of the second express, I was speedily followed by our gallant friend General Irvine, with the second brigade. Our march of sixteen miles was performed in four hours, during a dark night, without a single halt or a man left behind. When our approach was announced to the general, he thought it fabulous; but when assured of the reality of his tenth legion being near him, he expressed great satisfaction and pleasure.

“The protection of this important place is committed to the division under my command until a proper garrison arrives. We will dispute the approaches to the works inch by inch, at the point of the bayonet, and, if necessary, decide the fate of the day in the gorge of the defiles at every expense of blood. You may rest assured that, whatever may be the issue, neither the conduct of myself nor gallant assistant will ever require the palliation of a friend, or cause a blush on the cheek of any affectionate acquaintance.

“Most respectfully, your obedient,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.”

The situation of the American soldiers at this period was truly deplorable. They were wearied out with privations, and indignant at their officers, whom they accused of not properly representing their situation to Congress. But the fault was in the tardiness of Congress, not in the officers. Gen. Wayne was particularly urgent in his memorials to the government. The Pennsylvania troops had been enlisted on the ambiguous terms of "serving three years, or during the continuance of the war;" and Wayne, long before the army retired into winter quarters, anticipated the evils that occurred at the expiration of the three years from the date of their enrolment, January 1st, 1781. We make a few extracts from his letters upon this matter:

"When I look to a period fast approaching, I discover the most gloomy prospects and distressing objects presenting themselves; and when I consider the mass of people who now compose this army will dissolve by the 1st of January, (except a little corps enlisted for the war, badly paid and worse fed,) I dread the consequence, as these melancholy facts may have a most unhappy influence on their minds, when opposed to a well appointed, puissant, and desolating army."*

"I am therefore induced to call upon the honorable Council to adopt some mode to procure a fresh supply of blankets and winter clothing for the officers and privates belonging to the state of Pennsylvania. The weather begins to pinch; hard necessity obliges us to be economists. Our soldiers' uniforms are much worn and out of repair. We have adopted the idea of cur-

* Letter to Joseph Reed, Esq., Sept. 17th, 1780.

tailing the coats, to repair the elbows and other defective parts; for which we shall immediately want needles and thread. Will your excellency be so obliging as to direct them to be procured and sent to camp, with the other stores, with all possible despatch; and to appoint Lieutenant Dungan, of the sixth Pennsylvania regiment, in place of the gentleman lately dismissed the service by the sentence of a general court martial." *

"Whatever gentlemen may think of matters, for my own part I very much dread the ides of January. It will be a crisis in which we shall be most vulnerable, and, as I have already observed, in which the minds of the troops will be most susceptible of impressions injurious to this service; and I have ground to believe that will be the season in which the enemy are instructed to operate. Should they then advance, and find our troops wretchedly appointed and pinchingly fed, the prospect will not be very flattering on our side; for we shall find it full as difficult a task to introduce a conviction into our people, that the articles of provision and warm clothing are non-essentials in a winter's campaign, as it was for Peter to pass a piece of brown loaf upon Martin and Jack for good mutton and Burgundy.

"No, gentlemen, it is impossible. The first and keenest feelings of nature, (hunger and cold,) are not to be reasoned down by sophistry; especially if your adversaries make use of a more effectual argument, by holding out an immediate relief in one hand, and an invitation to partake of their friendship and plenty in the other.

"Believe me, gentlemen, that this is not a picture

* Letter to Joseph Reed, Esq., Oct. 17th, 1780.

drawn by fancy's pencil. It is taken from the life, and it has stamped too indelible an impression upon my mind to be removed. Permit me to assure you, that it is not the prowess of our enemy I dread, but their taking advantage of our necessitous situation and internal disunion—neither of which they are to learn. They will therefore attempt to attain, by a winter's manœuvre, art, and corruption, that which they cannot hope to accomplish by open force.

“It is, gentlemen, greatly in your power to frustrate and blast their most sanguine views, by making the first overtures to a union among yourselves. Let me, therefore, as a friend and fellow-citizen, call upon you, in the most solemn manner, to meet the other part of the Assembly and Council with temper. Let party prejudice subside. Meddle not now with the constitution, as the time is drawing near when the magnum concilium of Pennsylvania will be necessarily convened to decide upon its case. Exert every power for the immediate completion of your quota of troops; establish magazines of provisions; adopt some efficacious measure to procure a quantity of specie; and, at all events, find means to clothe the soldiers belonging to this state by the first of January.”*

“Camp at Totaway, 19th November, 1780.

“DEAR SIR—Whilst Colonel Temple's servant is waiting on horseback, I take the liberty again to mention the absolute necessity of forwarding a quantity of hard cash and state stores with all possible despatch, in order to keep our people in temper, as well as an inducement to the new levies to enlist. Our honor and

* Letter to Robert Morris, Esq., and others, Nov. 9th, 1780.

credit are now plighted for near 200 half joes, to the soldiers who enlisted on trust.

“I expect to march this division for winter quarters in a few days, which will be in the vicinity of Morristown; the other part of the army will take post at West Point and the neighborhood of New Windsor.

“Time will not permit me to mention matters of consequence. I find that I shall have a very fatiguing and difficult task of duty during the winter, and, from some hints, not of the most pleasing nature. For God’s sake direct every exertion to be used in procuring a complete uniform for the line, which, with some hard cash towards making up the depreciation, will enable me to prevent, very probably, disagreeable consequences, restore content, and render this line not only respectable in the eyes of our friends, and honorable to the state, but terrible to our enemies.

“Interim, I have the honor to be your excellency’s most obedient and very humble servant,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“*Governor Reed.*”

It was with these forebodings that Wayne marched the division under his command into winter quarters, upon ground, (designated by him in his letters as Mount Kemble,) in the neighborhood of Morristown. The spirit of dissatisfaction and mutiny hourly increased; the looks of the soldiery were sullen and insolent; their demands for pay, clothing and provisions were constantly urged; complaints of the neighboring farmers poured into the camp of depredations committed on their property. To protect the persons and property of the inhabitants, the officers used every exertion, and vigorous measures were taken to bring the marauders

to exemplary punishment. Guards and sentries, and all officers indiscriminately, were ordered to stop every soldier going out or coming into camp, and examine his pass, which, if found not signed by the commanding officer of the regiment to which he belonged, was to be taken from him, and the soldier himself to be confined and punished at the discretion of a regimental court-martial, in the most summary manner. The names of the men belonging to each hut were written and pasted on the door; and the officers of police visited every hut in their respective regiments after tattoo beating, and saw whether or not the *whole* of the men were present, or properly accounted for.

Head-Quarters, New Windsor, 28th Dec., 1780.

“DEAR SIR,—I have received your favour of the 25th, as I did that of the 10th. I think your precautions for the security of your camp very good, though I hope if the enemy have made a detachment equal to report, which says 2000 to 2500, you will be quiet in your quarters; you are more in the way of gaining intelligence from New York than I am, and I shall be obliged to you for procuring as much as you can, and transmitting me whatever is material. Mrs. Blair having informed me that about 2000 shirts, part of the productions of the ladies’ contributions to the army were made up, I have desired her to deliver them to Colonel Miles, deputy Quarter-Master-General, in Philadelphia, who has directions to forward 800 of them to you; you will have them distributed among those of the soldiers who are most in need, or by lot. I very much approve of what I hear is your determination, to hold all your amusements within the line of your camp. Morristown would have been exposed to a night’s excursion from Staten Island. I wish the

compliments of the season to you and the gentlemen of the line, and am, with great regard,

“Dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

“GEO. WASHINGTON.

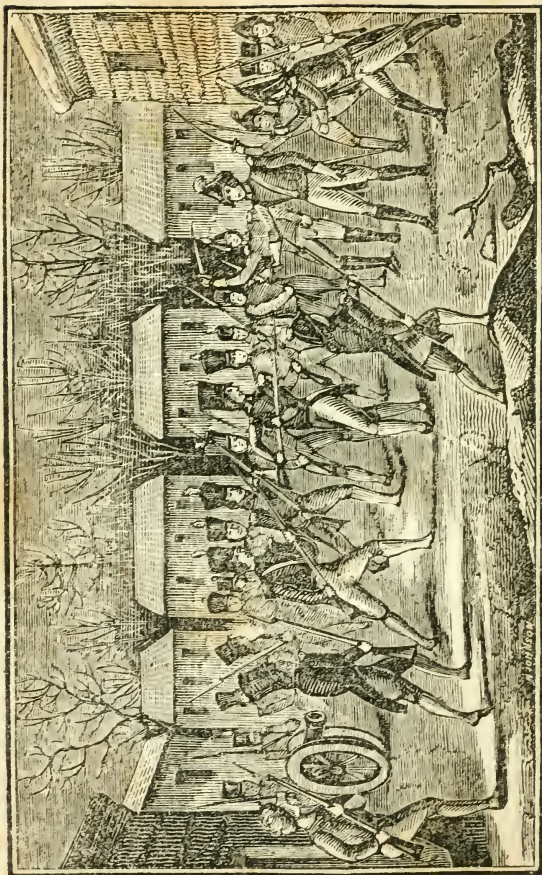
“*General Wayne.*”

Unfortunately the intelligence mentioned in Washington's letter came too late. Wayne had pledged himself to breast the storm come when it might, and had he been more early possessed, even of those means of encouragement, he might possibly have reconciled the troops to a longer endurance of their privations, under positive assurance of approaching relief. The British, in New York, fully apprized of the discontented state of the soldiers at Morristown, had sent their emissaries into the camp with tempting solicitations, encouraging them to revolt and massacre their officers, offering to take them under the protection of the British government, and to pay them the amount due to them from Congress.

Surrounded by these difficulties, Wayne kept up his rigid discipline, and saw that his orders were fulfilled to the letter. The soldiers now complained that they experienced more restraint and stricter duty than usual in winter. He replied that he “would much rather be accused of that than a relaxation of *discipline* or *inattention*.” But, in the end, the clouds of discontent, which he had perceived so long gathering, burst out into a storm, which was attended by circumstances the most appalling.

Orders appear to have been strictly obeyed, in every minutiae, up to the hour of nine o'clock on the evening of the 1st of January, when every thing appeared favorable, and all the soldiers were either in their huts or properly accounted for. Between nine and ten





Mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line.

(To face page 127.)

however, they rushed from their huts, paraded under arms without officers, forcibly supplied themselves with ammunition and provisions, seized six pieces of artillery, and took the horses from the generals' stables. "The whole division, with a few exceptions, was found in a state of open and decided insurrection; disclaiming all further obedience, and boldly avowing an intention of immediately abandoning the post, and of seeking, with arms in their hands, a redress of their grievances."*

Wayne, and his brother officers, rushed among the mutineers, and "appeals, both urgent and frequent addressed as well to the passions as the interests of the offenders, were faithfully but unsuccessfully tried; compulsory means, the last resort of invaded authority followed; blows were given, wounds inflicted and lives lost; but without producing the desired effect, and tending only to imbitter a strife, melancholy in its cause and hopeless in its object."†

Immediately after the meeting, Wayne despatched the following account of it to Washington.

*Mount Kemble, 2d Jan., 1781, }
half after 4 o'clock, A. M. }*

DEAR GENERAL—It is with great pain I now inform your excellency of the general mutiny and defection, which suddenly took place in the Pennsylvania line, be-

* Sparks' Biography, vol. 4, page 52.—Hazard's Register. vol. 2, 1828.

† On Wayne's cocking his pistols there were a hundred bayonets at his breast, with "we love you, we respect you, but you are a dead man if you fire. Do not mistake us, we are not going to the enemy; on the contrary, were they *now to come out*, you would see us fight, under your orders, with as much resolution and alacrity as ever!"

tween the hours of 9 and 10 o'clock last evening. Every possible exertion was used by the officers to suppress it in its rise ; but the torrent was too potent to be stemmed. Captain Bitting has fallen a victim to his zeal and duty. Captain Tolbert and Lieutenant White are reported mortally wounded—a very considerable number of the field and other officers are much injured by strokes from muskets, bayonets, and stones ; nor have the revolvers escaped with impunity. Many of their bodies lay under our horses' feet, and others will retain with existence the traces of our swords and es-pontoons. They finally moved from the ground about eleven o'clock at night, scouring the grand parade with round and grape shot from four field pieces ; the troops advancing in a solid column, with fixed bayonets, producing a diffusive fire of musketry in front, flank, and rear.

“ During this horrid scene, a few officers, with myself, were carried by the tide to the fork of the roads at Mount Kemble ; but placing ourselves on that leading to Elizabethtown, and producing a conviction to the soldiery that they could not advance upon that route, but over our dead bodies, they fortunately turned towards Princeton.

“ Colonels Butler and Stewart, (to whose spirited exertions I am much indebted) will accompany me to Vealtown, where the troops now are. We had our escapes last night. Should we not be equally fortunate to-day, our friends will have this consolation, that we did not commit the honor of the United States, or our own, on this unfortunate occasion.

“ Adieu, my dear general, and believe me yours,
most sincerely,

“ ANTHONY WAYNE.

“ *General Washington.* ”

The conflict lasted about two hours ; and, at half

past eleven, the revoltors commenced their march towards Princeton, bivouacking for the night at Veal-town, as mentioned in the preceding letter of Wayne, who followed them to that place, and opened a correspondence with them for the purpose of bringing them back to their duty.

Sir Henry Clinton, apprized of the revolt in the American camp, and presuming that the object of the deserters was to get to New York, speedily placed a corps of infantry and artillerists on Staten Island, with a sufficient number of boats for their speedy transportation to Perth Amboy; at the same time despatching written proposals to the insurgents, inviting them to a junction with him. These proposals reached them on the 7th of January. Instead of entertaining them, they promptly and proudly rejected them, spurning the idea of becoming *Arnolds*, as they expressed it. They placed the two bearers in confinement as spies; enclosed the overtures of the British in an envelope, and despatched them to Wayne by two sergeants; with also a solemn assurance, that "should any hostile movement be made by the enemy, the division would immediately march, under their old and beloved commander, to meet and repel it."*

By the zealous exertions of Wayne, in whom their confidence was yet undiminished, and whom they constituted the medium through which the correspondence between them and the civil authority should pass, money was raised, their grievances were redressed, and an amicable adjustment soon followed. Certain stipulations were entered into, and a temporary dissolution of the Pennsylvania line took place. After which, the officers were sent into Pennsylvania to recruit men.

* Casket, p. 453.—Sparks' Biog. p. 55.

CHAPTER VII.

The campaign of 1781—Wayne is ordered to join the southern army—His untiring preparations—A mutiny—Jemy the Rover—Origin of the cognomen “Mad Anthony”—Wayne effects a junction with La Fayette—Battle of Green Spring—Wayne’s daring and decisive attack—Complimentary letter received by him from Robert Morris, Esq.—Wayne pursues Tarleton—Retreat of the British—Lord Cornwallis takes up a position at Yorktown, Virginia—Arrival of the French fleet—Wayne and La Fayette—The British and French fleets—The siege of Yorktown—Surrender of Cornwallis—Wayne’s diary, etc.

ABOUT the latter end of February, 1781, Gen. Wayne received orders to prepare to join the southern army under command of Gen. Greene, and to commence as early as possible the rendezvousing of the Pennsylvania troops, and to march them off by detachments as soon as they could be collected. But so dispersed were the men in consequence of the recent revolt, and so great was the difficulty of procuring camp equipage and money, and adjusting the pay due the troops, that he did not get in motion from York, Pennsylvania, until the latter end of May, when he proceeded to co-operate with La Fayette. While on his march to Virginia, in a letter to his family, Wayne gives the following account of an execution that he was necessitated to put into force :

“The anxiety of mind, and constant hurry of business, attending my station under trying circumstances, will be the best apology for so long a silence. I shall,

therefore, under the friendly covert of a tree, proceed to give you a brief detail of our manœuvres.

“When I arrived at York, there was scarcely a horse or carriage fit to transport any part of our baggage or supplies. This difficulty I found means to remedy, by bartering one species of public property to procure another. The troops were retarded in advancing to the general rendezvous by the unaccountable delay of the auditors, who were appointed to settle and pay the proportion of the depreciation due them, which, when received, was not equal to one-seventh part of its nominal value. This was an alarming circumstance. The soldiery but too sensibly felt the imposition, nor did the conduct or precept of the inhabitants tend to moderate, but rather inflame their minds, by refusing to part with any thing for it; saying it was not worth accepting, and that they ought not to march until justice was done them. To minds already but too susceptible of this kind of impression, and whose recent revolt was still fresh in their memory, little more was wanting to stimulate them to try it again. The day antecedent to that on which the march was to commence, a few leading mutineers on the right of each regiment called out to pay them in real, not ideal money; they were no longer to be trifled with. Upon this they were ordered to their tents; which being peremptorily refused, the principals were immediately either knocked down or confined by the officers, who were previously prepared for this event. A court-martial was ordered on the spot; the commission of the crime, trial, and execution, were all included in the course of a few hours, in front of the line, paraded under arms. The determined countenances of the officers produced a conviction to the soldiery that the sentence of the court-martial would be carried into exe-

cution at every risk and consequence. Whether by design or accident, the particular friends and messmates of the culprits were their executioners ; and whilst the tears rolled down their cheeks in showers, they silently and faithfully obeyed their orders without a moment's hesitation. Thus was this hideous monster crushed in its birth, however to myself and officers a most painful scene. We shall join the marquis in a few days, and produce a conviction to the world that death has no terrors when put in competition with our duty and glory.

"P. S. Jemy, the Rover, alias the commodore, has absented himself from this detachment of the army. Should he in his ramble pass your way, I hope that you will extend towards him every hospitality which may be most likely to minister to his comfort. I am convinced that, whether in his hours of sanity or insanity, he would cheerfully lay down his life for either me or any of my family."

Jemy, the Rover, to whom Wayne refers in this postscript, was the person with whom originated the cognomen "Mad Anthony." In all armies, the soldiers delight in nicknaming their principal officers ; and Jemy fixed one upon the subject of our memoir, by which he is to this day familiarly spoken of. The real name of Jemy is not recollected. He was an Irishman, and a regularly enlisted soldier in the Pennsylvania line. He was subject to, or at least so feigned, occasional fits of craziness ; in which state he often proved very noisy and troublesome, and in one instance was ordered to the guard-house. Whilst the sergeant, with a file of men, was conducting him thither, Jemy suddenly halted, and asked the sergeant by whose orders he was arrested. "By those of the general," was the reply. "Then, forward !" said the Rover. In

the course of a few hours he was released. In the act of taking his departure, he asked the sergeant whether Anthony, (this being the only name he gave Gen. Wayne,) was *mad*, or in *fun*, when he placed him under *arrest*—not condescending to say under guard. The answer was, “The general has been much displeased with your disorderly conduct; and a repetition of it will be followed not only by confinement, but *twenty-nine* well laid on.” “Then,” exclaimed Jemy, “Anthony is *mad*; farewell to you—clear the coast for the commodore, mad Anthony’s friend!”*

On the 7th of June, the Pennsylvania troops, amounting to 1100, formed a junction with La Fayette, which Philips and Arnold, who were ravaging the country, in vain had endeavored to prevent. Immediately after this junction, La Fayette and Wayne advanced against Cornwallis, who was now retreating. La Fayette, with the main body of his army, continued to hold a position about twenty miles in the rear of the British, whilst the advanced corps, under Gen. Wayne, kept within eight or nine miles, with the view of commencing an attack on the rear-guard, after the main body should have passed the river. After a variety of marches and counter-marches, La Fayette received intelligence on the 5th of July, that the enemy had moved

* “This Jemy, the Rover, had method in his derangement. General Wayne, to whom he was most devotedly attached, frequently employed him as a *spy*. While the American army lay at Valley Forge, he was repeatedly sent within the British lines, and always returned with correct and important information. It is said, by those who are yet living, and who well recollect the Rover, that he was a man of good education and extraordinary shrewdness. In fact it was much doubted whether or not Jemy feigned derangement.”—*Casket*, p. 499, 1829.

from Williamsburg to Jamestown, and were preparing to transport their baggage and troops over the river. This induced him to take a position at Chickahominy church, eight miles from Jamestown. Early the next morning, information was received that the main army of the British had already effected its passage. La Fayette directed Wayne to advance immediately and attack their rear-guard. Upon arriving at Green Spring Farm, near the enemy, Wayne discovered that the intelligence of the main army having passed was false, and that he had now to confront the whole British host with but only five hundred men. The only possible mode which he could calculate upon, under these circumstances, for saving his command from falling into the grasp of the enemy, was that which he promptly adopted, attacking vigorously and retreating precipitately. "Moments decide the fate of battles; and the mind of our hero, prompt as firm, seeing at a glance the whole extent of his danger, and knowing that boldness only could afford a sufficient security against it, resorted to a charge."* "At three o'clock," says Wayne,† "the riflemen commenced and kept up a galling fire upon the enemy, which continued until five in the afternoon, when the British began to move forward in columns; upon which Major Galvan, at the head of the advanced guard, attacked them, and, after a spirited though unequal contest, retired upon our left. A detachment of the light infantry, under Major Willis, having arrived also, commenced a severe fire, but were obliged to fall back; which the enemy observing, and beginning to turn our flanks—a manœuvre in which, had they persevered, they must inevitably have penetrated between this corps and the other part of the

* Sparks' Biography.

† Letter of 8th July, 1781.

army ; but being joined at this crisis by Colonel Harmer and Major Edwards, with part of the 2d and 3d Pennsylvania regiments, under Colonel Humpton, with one field piece, it was determined, among a choice of difficulties, to advance and charge them, although numbering more than five times our force. This was done with so much spirit as to produce the desired effect ; i. e. checking them in their advance, and diverting them from their *first* manœuvre. But being enveloped by numbers, and many brave and worthy officers and soldiers killed or wounded, we found it expedient to fall back one half mile to Green Spring Farm. Two of our field pieces, which were necessarily introduced under Captain Duffee, to keep up the idea of our being in force, were served with equal spirit and effect, until disabled by having many of the men, with Captain Crosby, wounded, and all the horses killed, at last fell into their hands. The wagons and ammunition were saved. The enemy, sore from the contest, and finding us supported at that place by the remainder of the light infantry, were content with barely keeping the field, although opposed but by a handful of men compared with theirs ; and which, from the number of the enemy and the nature of the ground, were obliged to act in a detached manner, except that part of the Pennsylvania line that had time to arrive, whose numbers did not exceed five hundred. From the mutual emulation in the officers and men of each corps, I am confident that, had the army been in force, victory would have inclined to our arms. However, every circumstance considered, our small reconnoitering party of horse and foot, who had the hardiness to engage Lord Cornwallis at the head of the whole British army, with the advantage of a powerful cavalry, on their own ground and in their own camp, are more to be envied than

pitied on this occasion; and I trust that, in an equal contest, we shall produce a conviction to the world that we deserve success."

In this action 108 of the continental troops were killed, wounded and taken. Many of the officers were severely wounded, and most of the field officers had their horses killed under them. The Marquis de La Fayette, in his official notice of this action says—"From every account the enemy's loss has been very great, and much pains taken to conceal it."

By some military critics this gallant attack of Wayne was considered rash and useless. Col. Lee, speaking of this engagement,* insinuates that it was not good generalship, but Wayne's eagerness for fighting, that brought about the action. Such, however, was not the opinion of Washington, Greene, Robert Morris, and others. Washington writes him—"I, with the greatest pleasure, received the official account of the action at Green Spring. The Marquis de La Fayette speaks in the handsomest manner of your own behaviour, and that of the troops, in the action. I think the account which Lord Cornwallis will be obliged to render of the state of southern affairs, will not be very pleasing to ministerial eyes and ears, especially after what appear to have been their expectations by their intercepted letters of March last. I am in hopes that Virginia will be soon, if not before this time, so far relieved as to permit you to march to the succor of General Greene, who, with a handful of men, has done more than could possibly have been expected; should he be enabled to maintain his advantage in the Carolinas and Georgia, it cannot fail of having the most important political consequences in Europe."

* See his Memoirs of the Southern Campaigns.

Gen. Greene, observes—"The marquis gives you glory for your late conduct in the action at Jamestown, and I am sensible you merit it. It gives me great pleasure to hear of the success of my friends; but be a little careful and tread softly, for depend upon it, you have a modern Hannibal to deal with in the person of Lord Cornwallis. Oh! that I but had you with me a few days ago, your glory and the public good might have been greatly advanced. Cols. Lee and Washington are the heroes of the south, and bear down all before them."

The distinguished Robert Morris, who was at this time financier-general, addressed Wayne in the following words. "We have received a full report of the action at Green Springs. It is very flattering to find our troops arrived to that degree of discipline which enables them to face, with inferior numbers, that proud foe who have heretofore attempted to treat our army with such contempt. It is still more agreeable to find these handful of troops have been led to the conflict by officers revered for their public, and esteemed for their private, conduct through life. I do assure you, my worthy friend, that I shall think my present toils well rewarded when they enable you and your competitors for glory to enjoy the sweets, whilst you endure the toils of a military life. It is true that my views extend much farther, but this is not the smallest nor the least pleasing objects of my pursuit. I hope to see you this winter, enjoying the trophies acquired by a glorious campaign. In the meantime, I shall be happy in, and profited, no doubt by occasionally hearing from you."

The night after the action at Green Spring, the enemy retreated, says La Fayette, in his despatches, "to James' Island, which they also evacuated, crossing

over to the south of the river." On the 9th, Cornwallis despatched Col. Tarleton, with his legion and some mounted infantry, to Bedford county, adjoining the Blue Ridge, with the view of destroying some public stores which were supposed to be collected in that quarter for the use of Greene's army, and also for the purpose of intercepting any troops which might be advancing from the south to reinforce La Fayette. Fortunately those stores had been forwarded to Greene previous to Tarleton's excursion; and as he met no troops marching from the south, he rapidly retrograded, and joined Cornwallis on the 15th day from his departure.

As soon as La Fayette received intelligence of Tarleton's movement, he detached Gen. Wayne, with the Pennsylvania regulars, and Gen. Morgan, who previously to this had retired from the regular service, with the militia riflemen and horse to intercept Col. Tarleton. But the troops, under this officer, being all mounted, were enabled to evade the American detachment. "I made a push for Tarleton in Amelia," Wayne says,* "but obtaining intelligence of my advance, he made a precipitate retreat."

So soon as Tarleton rejoined the army, Cornwallis marched to Portsmouth, and commenced fortifying there. However, after remaining at that place but a few days, he received orders from Sir Henry Clinton to occupy the most eligible position on the Chesapeake, as well with a view to the convenience of a winter harbor for part of the British fleet, as for facilitating any military operations on or near the waters of that bay. In obedience to these orders, Cornwallis, after much reconnoitering for a suitable position, or such a

* Letter to Gov. Nelson, July 24th, 1781.

one as would combine the views of his commander-in-chief, selected Yorktown, a short distance up the York river, to which, early in August, he moved the principal portion of his forces, and commenced such a system of fortifications as clearly indicated a permanent post. At this place, the whole army under his command, was concentrated before the 23d of August. Thus situated—and waiting to co-operate in the subjugation of Virginia with a fleet which he was led to expect would about this time arrive from the West Indies in the Chesapeake—he employed his extensive corps of cavalry in furnishing every species of supply that did not reach him by water; whilst his army was at all times prepared to advance on La Fayette and Wayne, should they move with their comparatively feeble army within striking distance of him.

Gen. Washington, on receiving intelligence that the Count de Grasse contemplated being on the American coast early in the month of August, with a powerful fleet, and three thousand land forces, resolved, in the first instance, with the combined American and French troops, to attack Sir Henry Clinton on York Island; but after having maturely reflected on the chances of success, between operating against Clinton and Cornwallis, on York river, in Virginia, the probability of success against the latter, preponderated.

La Fayette had been for some time expecting the decision of the commander-in-chief upon this interesting point. Washington, so soon as he decided, apprized La Fayette of it, and commanded him “to take measures for the interception of Lord Cornwallis’ retreat, should that general discover the intended blow, and attempt to elude it by gaining North Carolina.” La Fayette instantly adopted every possible means in his power to carry the orders of the commander-in-chief

into effect, by the instrumentality of his regulars and that of the militia.

In consequence of the above information and arrangements, the following letters passed between the marquis and Gen. Wayne :

“Col. Braxton’s House, 22d August, 1781.

“DEAR SIR—The long expected letter is at length arrived. In consequence of which, you will begin your march to-morrow morning, and move pretty rapidly to Westover, where you will find boats in readiness to cross. But I would not have you to cross till you hear further from me. You will, therefore, take a convenient position for your supplies and this purpose. The commissary which I have sent will be able to provide you with some flour and rum from Richmond. Upon your report, I have made him answerable for his conduct.

“I have the honor to be, dear sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“LA FAYETTE.

“*General Wayne.*”

“25th August, 1781.

“DEAR SIR—I am happy in this safe opportunity to open my heart to you. There is an important secret which I communicate to you alone, and which I request you to keep from every body’s knowledge. There is great reason to hope for an immediate aid by water. In the last letter from the general, he communicates this intelligence, which I am bound upon honor to keep secret. He directs me to keep you here until further orders ; and, above all, recommends that every measure may be taken to prevent the enemy’s retreating to Carolina. Your position at Westover seems to

ease the mind of Lord Cornwallis ; and should he pass over James' river, your troops may be on the other side by the time the remainder of the army arrives there. But in case our friends occupy water passages, we may in one day form our junction above Sand's Bridge, and co-operate with them against the common enemy. I would, therefore, wish you to take a healthy position near Westover ; to make every preparation ; to collect the means of helping to keep up the idea of a southern destination, and to improve your situation upon James' river, in having your men well supplied. The one hundred Virginians had better join the battalion, when they will add to the discipline and improvement of the new levies. I request you will pay attention to the improvement of that battalion. I hope the executive will send them clothing. Any arms to be had upon the James' river, could conveniently come down to them.

“ Very sincerely, yours,

“ LA FAYETTE.

“ *General Wayne.*”

“ *Prince George's County, 31st Aug., 1781.*

“ DEAR MARQUIS—I had the honor of writing you the 28th instant ; on which occasion I mentioned the unmilitary position at Westover, to troops who had no command of the water, and destitute of horse, which had determined me take post on Malvan hills.

“ The next morning after our arrival there, I was favored with your orders of the same day ; upon which the troops immediately took up their line of march, and began to cross the James' river from Westover, about sunset, the night before last ; and, by persevering night and day, with a few bad boats without any hands,

excepting soldiers unacquainted with water craft, we have effected this fatiguing business.

“The boats shall be sent to Mentzea’s ferry immediately. I have directed the party who takes them, to join us the soonest possible after depositing the craft at that place.

“I shall proceed for Cabin’s Point; and if I find Lord Cornwallis anxious to pass the river, I will endeavor to dissuade him from it by the *most forcible* arguments.

“Interim, believe me, yours, most sincerely,

“A. WAYNE.

“*Marquis La Fayette.*”

“*Holt’s Forge, August 31, 1781.*

“MY DEAR SIR—By information from Cape Charles, I hear that a large fleet from the southward was yesterday standing for the bay. Though this account is not yet so ascertained as to make it public, I have every reason to believe those are Count de Grasse’s, with twenty-five ships of the line, and a body of land forces. This will enable his excellency to come down from the head of Elk. Lord Cornwallis must then either submit to a siege, or this very night endeavor to gain the south side of James’ river. Now that you are over, I am pretty easy; forty dragoons, three hundred riflemen, and three hundred militia, are to join you immediately at Cabin’s Point. I request you will use every endeavor to be acquainted with the enemy’s movements. Mulberry or Hog Island seems to be the best places for them to land. I have previously requested the French admiral to push frigates up James’ river; but this depends upon winds. The remainder of the army is ready to support you—General Stevens at the ferry, and the light infantry at this place. The

moment every door by water is shut, I will request you to move this way, and we will take measures for a junction with the French troops. I wish you to communicate to me every intelligence you may obtain. I shall be very vigilant to do the same for you.

“Most sincerely and affectionately, yours,

“LA FAYETTE.

“*General Wayne.*”

Whilst Gen. Washington was making such demonstrations towards an attack on Clinton's posts at New York Island, as to induce the latter officer to devote his whole attention to their security, he was, at the same time, disposing of the American troops, and those of the French under Gen. Rochambeau, in such a manner as to enable him to make a rapid move to the Chesapeake; and he had duly apprized the Count de Barras, who lay at Rhode Island with a squadron of French ships, of his recent determination to attack Lord Cornwallis on the York river, in Virginia. The count speedily arranged all matters which fell under his province, and, on the 25th August, sailed for the Chesapeake, having under his charge all the heavy ordnance and military stores for the intended operations against Cornwallis. On the same day that De Barras left Rhode Island, to join De Grasse in the Chesapeake, the last division of Washington's army crossed the Hudson. So fully persuaded was Sir Henry that the army under his immediate command, and not that of Cornwallis, was the object of Washington's attack, that he could not believe the contrary until the advanced division of the allied army had passed the Delaware; but then, in place of adopting measures for the relief of Cornwallis, he detached a strong body of troops under the infamous Arnold, to fall like demons

on Connecticut, in hopes by this means to recall Washington from the further pursuit of his plans against Cornwallis. Vain effort—the steady mind of the commander-in-chief was not thus to be diverted from its object. The combined army continued its march until it reached the place of destination. It will be proper at this stage, although very cursorily, to advert to the respective movements of the French and British fleets.

Sir George B. Rodney, the British admiral, then commanding in the West Indies, having received intelligence from his government that the Count de Grasse would speedily arrive on the American coast, gave orders to Admiral Hood, (then with him,) to proceed instantly with a squadron of ships to the United States coast. Those orders were speedily obeyed by Hood, who, it was expected, when joined by Admiral Greaves with a squadron of ships, then at New York, would be a full match for the supposed number of ships under command of De Grasse and Barras.

Hood, with fourteen sail of the line, reached the Chesapeake bay on the 25th of August, it being the same day that Count de Barras sailed from Rhode Island; and, however extraordinary the coincidence may appear, on the same day that the last division of the allied army, destined to operate against Cornwallis, crossed the Hudson.

Hood, looking into the Chesapeake and Delaware bays but discovering no fleet of his adversaries in either, proceeded to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th of August.

On the same day Admiral Greaves joined Hood with five additional ships of the line, and instantly put to sea, in hopes of intercepting Barras, of whose sailing he had just received intelligence, or cutting off De

Grasse before a junction could be formed between them. If either had occurred, fatal might have been the consequences; and especially if Barras had have been met and vanquished, because his vessels carried all the heavy ordnance as well as military stores to be employed in the operations against Cornwallis. Most happily, the British admiral was disappointed of succeeding in either of his objects. Barras evaded the British fleet by standing far out to sea, and De Grasse, on the 30th, anchored safely in the Chesapeake bay, being a considerable time before the British admiral reached the latitude of the Virginia capes,

In consequence of the arrival of the French fleet, La Fayette requested an interview with Wayne, on which occasion an accident happened to the latter, which he ten days subsequently thus mentioned in a letter to a friend. "On the 2d instant the French troops landed near this place.* After I had pointed out the most proper position for an encampment, I received an express from the Marquis La Fayette, to meet him on business of importance that evening, about ten miles distant. I proceeded, accordingly, attended by two gentlemen and a servant. When we arrived in the vicinity of his camp, about 10 o'clock at night, we were challenged by a sentry, and we made the usual answer, but the poor fellow being panic struck, mistook us for the enemy, and shot me in the centre of the left thigh, then fled and alarmed the camp. Fortunately, the ball only grazed the bone, and lodged on the side opposite to which it entered."

This circumstance must have been a source of great mortification to him, inasmuch as the wound confined him for many days, and, of course, deprived him of

* The troops, 3000 of them, landed at Burwell's Ferry.

participating in those personal congratulations and civilities, which no doubt speedily and reciprocally passed between the American and French officers. Independently of this, the wound was not inflicted by an enemy's ball, yet he was necessitated for a time to withdraw from that active and efficient service, which both duty and inclination equally and at all times impelled him to employ in behalf of his much beloved country. However, he appears from his letters to have submitted to his pain and mortification with that resignation and cheerfulness for which he was, on all occasions that called for them, so much admired both in and out of the army. "This caitiff disorder is now leaving me," he writes on the 12th of Sept., "and I shall, in a few days, take an active and interesting command in despite of the ball, and hope to participate in the glory of attending the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his marauding army."* In a postscript to this letter, he adds, "I this day mounted and rode my horse; an exertion which caused some pain; yet I succeeded beyond my expectation."

On the 5th of September, the van of the British fleet appeared off Cape Henry. As soon as De Grasse ascertained its character, not knowing at first view but it was De Barras' squadron, from Rhode Island, he slipped his cables and went out to sea, in order to offer admiral Greaves battle. The British admiral did not refuse to accept the challenge, although he had but nineteen sail of the line to oppose to twenty-four.

A partial engagement ensued on the 7th, in which the French had the advantage—night separated the combatants. The action was not renewed, although the respective fleets continued in the neighborhood of

* Letter to Richard Peters, Esq.

each other during four days. De Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake on the 10th, very prudently contenting himself with the possession of the bay, without further hazarding his fleet at this critical moment, by exposing it to battles and storms. During the excursion of De Grasse, De Barras safely moored in the Chesapeake his squadron from Rhode Island with the transports. Admiral Greaves, notwithstanding some of his vessels were much disabled, and one abandoned and burnt, neared the capes; but, discovering the whole French fleet in the bay, he sailed for New York.*

Cornwallis' garrison amounted to 7,000, and the place was strongly fortified. His main works were at Yorktown, which is nearly surrounded by the river and a morass; and on the isthmus he had erected a strong redoubt, etc., with ditches, fraises, and abatis. He also occupied Gloucester, on the opposite side, where he had erected some works to keep up the communication with the country.

Gen. Washington reached the neighborhood of the very interesting scene of operation, against the renowned although unfortunate Cornwallis, on the 14th of September, and immediately proceeded on board the

* Casket, p. 358.—On the 7th of September, M. de Grasse encountered the British fleet, and a distant fight took place, in which the French seemed to rely more on their manœuvring than on their valor. The reason of this was soon apparent. In the course of the night that followed the action, a squadron of eight line of battle ships safely passed the British, and joined De Grasse; in consequence of which accession of strength to his antagonist, Admiral Graves thought it prudent to quit that part of the coast, and retire to New York. This impediment to their operations having been removed, the Americans and French directed the whole of their united efforts to the capture of Yorktown."—*Frost's United States*.

Ville de Paris, (flag-ship of the French admiral,) when the plan of siege was concerted with the Count de Grasse. De Grasse was very desirous to move with his fleet to New York, previously to his joining in the siege, for the purpose of blocking up the British fleet; a measure from which he was with difficulty dissuaded by Washington. Had De Grasse persevered in his resolution, the glorious event of Cornwallis' capture might not now be matter of record; but, in lieu of it, the disastrous and bloody scenes which crushed an empire just rising into existence. Here we have another instance of the interposition of that benign and controlling Providence which compelled the ambition, pride, and folly of man, the seas and winds to be still, when acting in opposition to that great cause, which, when crowned with success, instantly burst asunder the shackles which had long held in bondage both the body and mind of the free-born American.

Subjoined is Gen. Wayne's diary of the siege of Yorktown and capture of Cornwallis:

"On the 28th of September, 1781, his excellency General Washington put the combined army in motion at 5 o'clock in the morning, in two columns, (the Americans on the right and the French on the left,) and arrived in view of the enemy's lines at York, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

"29th.—Completed the investiture. The enemy abandoned their advanced chain of works this evening, leaving two redoubts perfect within cannon-shot of their principal fortifications. This was not only unmilitary, but an indication of confused precipitation.

"30th.—The allied troops possessed the ground abandoned by the British; the French occupied the two redoubts; and the Americans broke ground, and began two new ones on the right.

“1st October.—The enemy discovered our works in the morning; commenced a cannonade, which continued through the day and night with very little effect.

“2d.—Two men were killed by the enemy’s fire.

“3d.—Last night a drop-shot from the British killed four men belonging to the covering party.

“4th.—The redoubts were perfected; enemy’s fire languid.

“5th.—Two men were killed by ricochet shot.

“6th.—Six regiments, i. e. one from the right of each brigade, marched at 6 o’clock, P. M., under the command of Major-General Lincoln and Brigadiers Clinton and Wayne, and opened the first parallel within 550 yards of the enemy’s works and their extreme left, which was continued by the French to the extreme right.

“7th.—The parallel nearly complete, without any opposition, except a little scattered fire of musketry, and a feeble fire of artillery, by which a few of the French troops were wounded, and one officer lost his leg.

“8th.—Completed the first parallel; two of the Pennsylvanians were killed by ricochet shot.

“9th.—At 3 o’clock, P. M., the French opened a twelve-gun battery on the extreme right of the enemy; and at 5 o’clock, the same afternoon, a battery of ten pieces was opened on their extreme left, by the Americans, with apparent effect.

“10th.—At day-break, three more batteries were opened, (one of five heavy pieces by the Americans, and two containing twenty-two by the French,) opposite the centre of the British works; at 5 P. M., another American battery of two ten-inch howitzers was also opened, which produced so severe a fire that it, in a

great degree, silenced that of the enemy ; at 7 o'clock, P. M., the Caron, of 44 guns, was set on fire by our balls, and totally consumed.

"11th.—The second parallel was opened this night by the Pennsylvanians and Marylanders, covered by two battalions under General Wayne, on the part of the Americans.

"12th.—Nothing material.

"13th.—That part of the second parallel which was opened, nearly completed.

"14th.—A little after dark, two detached redoubts belonging to the enemy were stormed ; that on the extreme left by the light infantry, under the Marquis La Fayette, in which were taken a major, captain, and one subaltern, with seventeen privates, and eight rank and file killed. Our army lost, in killed and wounded, forty-one. The other was carried by the French, under the Baron de Viominial, who lost, in killed and wounded, about one hundred men. Of the enemy, eighteen were killed, and three officers and thirty-nine privates were made prisoners. The above attacks were supported by two battalions of the Pennsylvanians, under General Wayne ; whilst the second parallel was completed by the Pennsylvanians and Marylanders, under Colonel W. Stewart.

"15th.—Two small batteries were opened this evening.

"16th.—The enemy made a sortie, and spiked seven pieces of artillery, but were immediately repulsed, the spikes drawn, and batteries again opened.

"17th.—The enemy beat the chamade at 10 o'clock, A. M."

Cornwallis now " sent out a flag, proposing a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours," continues

Wayne,* “and that commissioners might be appointed to meet at Mr. Moore’s house, to settle the terms upon which the garrisons of York and Gloucester should surrender. General Washington would only grant a cessation for *two hours*; previously to the expiration of which, his lordship, by another flag, sent the following terms, viz: The troops to be prisoners of war; the British to be sent to Great Britain, and not to act against America, France, or their allies, until exchanged; the Hessians to Germany, on the same conditions; and that all operations cease until the commissioners should determine the details. To this his excellency returned for answer: That hostilities should cease, and no alterations in the works, or any new movement of the troops, take place, until he sent terms in writing; which he did on the 18th, at nine o’clock, A. M., allowing the enemy two hours to determine. They again requested more time; and the general granted them until one o’clock, when they acceded to the heads of the imposed terms, and nominated Colonel Dundas and Major Ross, on their part, to meet with Colonel Laurens and Viscount de Noailles on ours, to reduce them to form, which was completed by nine o’clock at night; and, on the 19th, at one o’clock, P. M., the capitulation was ratified and signed by the commander of each army, when the enemy received a guard of Pennsylvania and Maryland troops in one of their principal works, and one of French troops in another. At four o’clock, the same afternoon, the British army marched out of Yorktown with *colors cased*, between the American and French troops, drawn up for the purpose, and then grounded their arms agreeably to capitulation.”

* Letter to Hon. George Clymer, dated Oct. 20, 1781.

CHAPTER VIII.

Wayne reaches the southern army—receives orders from Gen. Greene—he crosses the Savannah into Georgia—captures a body of Indians—his *talk* to them—defeats the British and Indians on the 21st of May, 1782—his camp attacked on the night of the 24th—gallant action—Wayne's horse shot under him—he fights on foot, resolved to be victorious or die in the midst of his enemy.—Evacuation of Savannah, and triumphant entry of Wayne—after which he repairs to the army of Gen. Greene.—Evacuation of Charleston.—Ill health of Wayne—He returns to Philadelphia—is brevetted a major-general—elected to a seat in the General Assembly, etc.

GEN. GREENE had been long and anxiously expecting the arrival of Wayne and the Pennsylvania troops in the south ; and about the 1st of January, 1782, our hero reached the camp of the southern army. This augmentation of force, together with the fall of Cornwallis, enabled Greene to gratify his wishes in affording military aid to the state of Georgia, wherein the enemy had been long rioting without the fear of opposition from either regulars or militia. Citizen had risen against citizen, and more deadly hatred existed between whig and tory than against the common enemy, and but slender means of protection could be procured for either life or property. Such was the distressed situation of Georgia ; and Greene despatched Wayne into that state, with instructions to “try, by every means, to soften the malignity and deadly resentments subsisting between whigs and tories, and to

put a stop, as much as possible, to the cruel custom of putting people to death after a surrender. I am sensible there are many difficulties which will attend your command," adds Greene; "but the high opinion I have of your zeal, abilities, resource, and enterprise, as well as perseverance, give me the most flattering expectations that you will surmount them all, and do honor to yourself, as well as render most essential service to your country."*

In pursuance of these instructions, Wayne immediately proceeded to the execution of the arduous task assigned him, with a body of troops very inferior in point of numbers to those of the enemy. On the 19th of February, he crossed the Savannah river, and effected a landing in Georgia, with a detachment of the 1st and 4th regiments of dragoons. With this force, aided by a small state corps and a few spirited militia, he manœuvred the enemy out of several strong posts, and confined to the town of Savannah 1500 regular troops, exclusive of tory-militia, refugees, Indians, and armed negroes, amounting to nearly a thousand more, who, in their retreat, desolated the country, destroyed and broke up all the bridges and causeways to the very gates of the town—measures, by which the British Gen. Clarke thought to have compelled Wayne to abandon Georgia; but hearing of a quantity of forage and provisions on the Great Ogechee, fifteen miles from Savannah, and being determined to seize them and hold possession of Georgia, he advanced to secure them.—When he arrived near that river, he received intelligence of a body of Creek Indians, on their march to Savannah. In order to deceive or decoy them, he instantly detached a strong party of horse, under Col. M'Coy, dressed in

* Dated Head Quarters, Round O, Jan. 9th, 1782.

British uniform. The deception succeeded, and the Indians were surrounded and disarmed without the least resistance, although they had previously prepared for action, with every warlike insignia upon them. During the above transaction, his videttes announced the approach of a large body of horse, which proved to be ninety-three pack horses, loaded with skins, &c., escorted by thirty or forty mounted Indians and Tories, who effected their escape by abandoning their horses and dashing into a deep swamp: the horses, skins, &c. were secured.

Among the captured Indians were twenty-six head chiefs or warriors, with their Interpreter. Humanity, as well as policy induced Wayne to spare their lives, and send them to their own country, with a *talk* calculated to keep them neutrals and to remain quiet spectators until the war should terminate between us and Britain.

In this *talk* to the Indians, Wayne briefly stated the rise and progress of the present war. He informed them that he was no Englishman, but a plain, open warrior, born upon the same great continent with them—that all the Americans asked of the Indians was to remain quiet spectators until the war should be terminated—but that if Indians should be deaf to the voice of reason, and wished to shed the blood of a people who never injured them; if they preferred the hatchet to the olive branch, Americans possessed undaunted hearts, strong arms, and keen cutting swords, with which they were ready to meet them on their own grounds.

“It is now upwards of five weeks,” writes Wayne, on the 24th of February,* “since we entered this state,

* Letter to Gen. Wm. Irvine, dated Ebenezer, state of Georgia.

during which period not an officer or soldier with me has once undressed for the purpose of changing his linen; nor do the enemy lay on beds of down—they have once or twice attempted to strike our advanced parties. 'The day before yesterday, they made a forward move in considerable force, which induced me to advance to meet them; but the lads declined the interview, by embarking in boats and retreating by water to Savannah, the only post which they hold in Georgia.'

On the 21st of May, Wayne received intelligence of the enemy being out in force; a movement which he had long desired, and with avidity he availed himself of the opportunity to attack them. 'The Americans were at Ebenezer, and the intelligence reported the enemy to be seven miles distant, at Harris' bridge, on the Ogechee road. Upon inquiry, Wayne found that the only route to the enemy's position was through a swamp of nearly four miles extent, with many deep and dangerous morasses to pass; and then to intersect the Ogechee road, at an intermediate distance from Savannah and the bridge. He was properly impressed with the difficulty attending a night's march over such ground, as well as the delicacy of a manœuvre that placed him between the whole of the enemy's force in Georgia; but when he came to reflect upon the experience and gallantry of the officers, and the steady bravery of the troops, they were ordered to advance, from the conviction that the success of a nocturnal attack depended more upon prowess than numbers. At 12 o'clock at night the American van arrived at the Ogechee road, four miles S. W. of Savannah, when the enemy also appeared advancing in close and good order. Notwithstanding this unexpected circumstance, and the great disparity of numbers, Wayne ordered the van guard to charge, which was obeyed with such vi-

vacuity as to terminate in the total defeat and dispersion of all the British cavalry, and a large body of infantry picked from the 7th regiment, the Hessians, Tanning's and Brown's regulars, with the Choctaw Indians, Tories, &c., the whole commanded by Col. Brown.

After this action, Wayne moved from Ebenezer, and took post at Sharon, five miles in front of the enemy. On the night of the 24th, his rear guard, with which he was in person, received an attack from upwards of 500 picked chiefs and warriors of the Creek nation, which speedily brought on a general action. "The advance of a large body of Creek Indians," he writes,* "headed by a number of their most celebrated chiefs and warriors, and a British officer, was announced at half after one o'clock this morning, by a most furious attack upon Lieutenant-Colonel Posey's light company, which had been placed for the protection of two field pieces, a short distance in rear of his battalions. Their onset was so impetuous and their numbers so superior, that this gallant little corps was compelled to fall back a few paces, a circumstance which, for a few minutes, put the enemy in possession of that artillery. But the corps immediately rallied under Captain Gunn, with his troop of dragoons, when I instantly ordered the two companies to advance to the charge, which they did, through a most tremendous fire of small arms, accompanied by a hideous yell of the enemy, from almost every direction. Colonel Posey and Major Finley, with their command, were now ordered to advance, and charge the Indians in flank; the whole was performed with such irresistible vigor, that the action terminated in the total route of the savages, who did not discover want of prowess on this occasion; but they met our

* Letter to Gen. Greene, dated Sharon, 24th June, 1782.

charge with that ferocity for which they are so famous at the onset; and it was especially so in this instance, being not a little elated with their temporary success in gaining possession of our cannon. Our enemy retreated into the pipe-maker's swamp, where they dispersed with precipitation. Many Indians and two white men fell dead on the field; among the former several chiefs, with the famous Guristersigo, our greatest enemy, and principal warrior of the Creek nation. Their proportion of wounded must be considerable, as the bravery of the Indians, fighting hand to hand, gave an opening for the free use of the sword and bayonet.

"As I had every reason to suspect a combined operation by an attack from the British, we formed to receive them, and made a disposition, at the same time, to prevent a junction with their savage allies; for which purpose Colonel Posey, with part of his battalion, advanced to a position near the enemy's lines, where we forced their pickets, and produced a conviction to them that we were at once in possession of the field of action, and in a condition to profit from events.*

"A few minutes after sunrise we formed a junction of our whole force, when the British made an advance, who, after sustaining some loss, were driven back to their works by a detachment of infantry and cavalry; but, notwithstanding every precaution to prevent it, part of the Indians found their way into Savannah, under cover of the swamp already mentioned.

* Col. Lee, in his Memoirs, adverting to the above encounter, says:—"Wayne, participating with his light corps in the surrounding dangers, was now dismounted, his horse being killed. But he behaved with his accustomed gallantry. Not doubting but General Clarke, with his whole force from Savannah, was upon him, he determined to cut his way to victory, or die in the midst of his enemy."

“Our trophies are an elegant British standard, 107 horses, with a number of packs, arms, etc., and more horses are hourly secured and brought in.” In a postscript, he adds, “Such was the determined bravery with which the Indians fought, that, after I had cut down one of their chiefs, with his last breath he drew his trigger, and shot my noble horse dead under me.”

The body of Indians that made the above mentioned attack, was to have formed a junction with the British, under Colonel Brown, near the Ogechee, about this period; but, in consequence of some mistake in the interpreters, Brown had anticipated the time, and experienced a total defeat on the night of the 21st of May.

Says Mr. Gordon, in his History of the American Revolution, “The British administration having resolved upon abandoning all offensive operations in America, the scheme of evacuating the weaker posts in the United States, was adopted, and that at Savannah was to be the first. When the measure was determined upon, the merchants and others, inhabitants of the place, obtained permission to apply to Wayne for the security and preservation of their persons and property. He replied to their deputies, that should the British garrison eventually effect an evacuation, the persons and properties of such inhabitants, or others, who choose to remain in Savannah, will be protected by the military, and resigned, inviolate into the hands of the civil authority, which must ultimately decide. The merchants and inhabitants of Savannah having sent out a second flag, Wayne, at the desire of the civil authority of the state, sent them for answer—‘That them merchants not owing allegiance to the United States, will be permitted to remain a reasonable time, to dispose of their goods and settle their affairs.’ Major Habersham, who was charged with this message, pledged himself

Indian shooting Wayne's horse.



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that they might rely with the utmost confidence on the terms proposed to them."

On the 11th of July, 1782, Savannah was evacuated by the British, and Wayne took possession of it. Shortly after this, the situation of Greene became critical in South Carolina, and, in August, Wayne received orders to form an immediate junction with him. He did so, and, with the aid of the Pennsylvania troops, executed most important services in circumscribing and chastising the British foraging parties in the neighborhood of Charleston.

About the latter end of November, the light infantry of the army, and the legionary corps, (part of whom had so gallantly followed his standard in Georgia,) were added to Wayne's command. With this united force he passed the Ashley river, and pushed the advanced corps of the enemy into Charleston. He now continued to hold a convenient position, for the purpose of attacking their rear, when the hour of the contemplated evacuation should arrive.

The British general (Leslie) dreading this, made a proposition, that if his army were permitted to embark without molestation, every care should be taken for the preservation of the town, etc. To this Gen. Greene acceded; and, on the morning of the 14th of December, 1782, Gen. Wayne had the honor and satisfaction to take peaceable possession of Charleston, with the infantry and legionary corps; thus closing his last active and military scene in the revolutionary war, after having performed many exploits no less brilliant than important.

At this glorious period in the history of his country's glory, in establishing which no one had more largely contributed by personal exertions than himself, Wayne found his health seriously affected. In conse-

quence of great fatigue and exposure, he contracted a severe indisposition ; and himself, as well as his friends, became apprehensive of his falling a victim to a fever which had so long and obstinately adhered to him. He writes to his friend Dr. Rush,* that on the 2d of September, he was seized by a violent fever ; “ nor have I,” he continues, “ from that period to this hour, enjoyed one day’s health. My physicians, after trying the powers of almost the whole *materia medica*, without effect, have directed the substitution of regimen and moderate exercise, in hopes of removing a complaint from my breast which possesses many diagnostics of a pulmonary consumption, although our medical gentlemen say that they are feelings or the natural effects of a continued and severe fever, and are happy presages of the manner in which those fevers generally terminate. Be that as it may, I have this consolation, that neither idleness nor dissipation has so injuriously affected my constitution ; but that it has been broken down, and nearly exhausted, by encountering almost every excess of fatigue, difficulty, and danger, in the defence of the rights and liberty of America, from the frozen lakes of Canada to the burning sands of Florida.”

Gen. Wayne continued with the army at the south, taking a part in the multiplicity of business that devolved upon the officers ; such as receiving the allegiance of the disaffected portion of the inhabitants in South and North Carolina, and Georgia—making treaties with Creeks, Cherokees, and other Indians ; and it was not until the month of July, 1783, that, after having seen the last of the Pennsylvania troops embarked on board the transports, he took passage for

* Letter dated Charleston, Dec. 24th, 1782.

Philadelphia, where he arrived in a state of flattering convalescency—though late in the autumn he experienced a severe relapse of fever.

In pursuance of a resolution of Congress, Brigadier-General Wayne was brevetted a major-general on the 10th of October, 1783. In 1784, he was elected by his native county to a seat in the General Assembly, in which civic capacity he served during the sessions of 1784 and 1785. By reference to the journals of those years, as well as to his correspondence, he appears to have taken deep interest in every measure of importance which was agitated in the Legislature. To his exertions, more than to those of any other individual, has been attributed the early abrogation of the Pennsylvania test laws; the continuance of which, after the peace of 1783, had become not only impolitic in relation to the public weal, but both grievous and tyrannic with respect to a large portion of the people of that state.

Although the resolutions which were presented by him on the above-mentioned subject, were defeated, in the first instance, by an overwhelming majority, he nevertheless returned to the charge, and a decisive victory was ultimately obtained.

Wayne, among other interesting subjects during his brief continuance in the Assembly, presented a resolution relative to inland navigation, which was the first movement of Pennsylvania, since the revolutionary war, on that interesting concern, and more comprehensive than any one which had heretofore been submitted to legislative consideration.

The resolution and consequent proceedings are thus exhibited on the journals.

November 7th, 1785.—It was moved by Mr. Wayne, and seconded by Mr. Watts, as follows :

“Resolved, That a committee be appointed to revise the law declaring the river Susquehanna, and other streams therein named, public highways, and for improving the navigation of said river and streams, passed the 9th of March, 1771, and the supplement thereto, passed the 31st March, 1785, and to report a bill which shall have for its object the more perfect improvement of the navigation of said river and streams, and also in concurrence with the states of Maryland and Delaware, the improvement of the navigation between the waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware, by a canal on principles of reciprocity.” And said motion was referred to a committee consisting of a member from each county.

The committee, on the 18th November following, made a report, approving the plan and recommending the opening of a navigable communication between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware; concluding with a resolution authorizing “the Executive Council to enter into a negotiation with the states of Maryland and Delaware, to effect that object.”

The canal, which Wayne contemplated in his resolution, is now completed and in successful operation. The innumerable advantages which the Union, and of course the state of Pennsylvania, must derive from this branch of inland navigation, will recall to memory the name of Anthony Wayne, as being one among the number of its earliest advocates and promoters.

Many are the letters which Wayne received, about this period, from distinguished characters, asking permission to offer his name for the presidential chair of Pennsylvania, at the expiration of the then incumbent's term of office. The pressure of his domestic concerns not only compelled him to decline this honor, but to resign his seat in the Legislature.

The state of Georgia, in 1782, complimented Gen. Wayne with a very valuable landed estate, in consideration of his public services, as well as with the view of inducing him to become a citizen of that state after the war should terminate.

He also possessed a valuable patrimonial property in his native state ; and being under obligations of gratitude to both, he resolved to spend a portion of time in each state.

The estate in Georgia he could not dispose of without giving offence, and that in Pennsylvania he could not, from prejudices of local attachment, reconcile his mind to sell.

His Waynesborough estate, in the county of Chester, which had been inoperative for a length of time, first claimed his attention, which, for the space of two years, was most assiduously devoted to the placing of that property in a state of cultivation. In the meantime his arrangements were making for rendering his Georgia estate productive. The latter object could not be effected without a very considerable sum of money—a sum which, at that period, could not be procured in this country. Wayne was, therefore, necessitated to attempt a loan in Holland. Although every precaution was taken to render this negotiation secure and successful, yet, most unhappily, his bills were all returned protested—a circumstance which involved him in extreme difficulties and embarrassments ; and ultimately, to save his patrimonial estate, he was compelled, in the year 1791, to sacrifice his Georgia present.

His time was so fully engrossed by his domestic concerns, from the close of the revolutionary war until the autumn of 1791, and his personal attendance being so much divided between the state of Pennsylvania and that of Georgia, the wishes of neither could be fully

gratified in affording him an evidence of its desire to place him in the councils of state. Indeed, it was a subject for judicial decision in a particular case, whether his citizenship was in Pennsylvania or Georgia. However, in 1787, his fellow-citizens of Pennsylvania availed themselves of an opportunity to elect him one of the members of the convention which adopted the constitution of the United States; and his fellow-citizens of Georgia, in the year 1792, elected him a member of the United States Congress. This election was contested, and, after a lengthy and animated discussion, set aside. Immediately after which, President Washington nominated Anthony Wayne to the Senate as commander-in-chief of the United States army—which nomination being confirmed, the high and important trust was accepted on the 13th of April, 1792.

CHAPTER IX.

Wayne appointed by President Washington commander-in-chief of the army of the United States.—Aggressions of the Indians on the western frontier.—Wayne repairs to Pittsburg in November, 1792, and from thence to the Ohio, where he opened negotiations with the Indian chiefs.—Failure of the negotiations.—Marches his army to the Miami settlements.—Great battle of the 20th of Aug., 1794.—Defeat of the Indians.—Wayne returns home.—His triumphant entry into Philadelphia.—Renewed aggressions upon the part of the Indians.—Wayne returns to the western country.—He is attacked by the gout on Nov. 17th, 1796.—His death at Presque Isle on the 15th of December following, etc.

THE particular object for which Wayne was appointed to the command in chief of the army, was to bring to a close the war with the confederated tribes of Indians, which had so long raged on the north-western frontier. The magnitude of the trust reposed, can only be realized by a due consideration of the circumstances existing at the time the appointment was made. When peace was concluded with Great Britain, a portion of their Indian auxiliaries refused to bury the hatchet, but continued their depredations upon the settlements bordering on the Ohio; and there is reason to believe that these avowed enemies were aided by tribes which had entered into treaties with the United States—the whole stimulated by white incendiaries from Canada. From 1783 to 1790, it was estimated that fifteen hundred men, women and children, had

been slain or taken captive by the Indians, upon the waters of the Ohio ; and that more than two thousand horses had been stolen from the inhabitants. Every effort by negotiations, to restore peace, having failed, Brig. Gen. Harmer was ordered to advance into the Indian country, with a force deemed competent to chastise the savages, destroy their towns, and bring them to a more reasonable disposition. The defeat of that brave and meritorious officer, and the annihilation of his army, in the summer of 1790, carried dismay throughout all our western settlements, and inspired the Indians with additional confidence and courage. On the part of the general government, the necessity for more extensive and decisive efforts, to protect the frontier and wipe away the stain from the American arms, became manifest. A new army was raised, and placed under the command of Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair, who led his forces to meet and punish a ferocious foe, become haughty and confident from successive victories. Every thing was hoped from the prowess, skill, and experience of the accomplished general who commanded the federal army. The eyes of the nation were fixed upon him with the most lively solicitude. The honor of the federal government, public confidence in its wisdom, (which faction was endeavoring to subvert,) the respect of foreign nations—all combined, with the security of the frontier, so long the scene of ambush, conflagration, and slaughter, to demand victory at his hands. The issue is known. On the 4th of November, 1791, Gen. St. Clair and his gallant army suffered a total defeat, rout, and massacre, near the Miami villages, by the confederate Indians, aided by efficient, though unavowed, white auxiliaries, from Canada. Upwards of sixty commissioned officers were killed or wounded, and near one thousand

privates slain, besides the wounded who died, or were disabled.

The whole country was thrown into consternation and mourning by the news of the defeat of St. Clair. A succession of disasters to the American arms, rendered the Indian war, to the last degree, unpopular; and no little of the odium attached to the administration under whose auspices it had been conducted. Not only were the people at large rendered averse to the war from its continued ill success, but those who were disposed to a military life looked with insuperable aversion upon a service, to enter which had so far proved neither a path to usefulness nor honor, but a sure avenue to the grave. To fall by the rifle, the tomahawk, or scalping-knife, experience had so far shown to be the almost certain consequences to those who should enter into the army; and which neither bravery nor skill had thus far been able to avert. Besides the sacrifice of life, the immense sum of money expended in the two expeditions under Harmer and St. Clair, in the embarrassed state of the national treasury, was regarded as an evil of oppressive magnitude. Parties had already developed themselves in Congress and the nation, and the conduct of the Indian war furnished abundant ground, for the ill-disposed, on which to raise charges against, and excite distrust of, the wisdom of the administration.

Thus situated, to sustain the honor of the government, to vindicate the superiority of the American arms, to arrest the clamor of party, to give protection to the frontier settlements, and, if possible, to restore a safe and lasting peace with the Indian nation, new measures were to be adopted. The highest exercise of the wisdom of Washington, in the selection of a commander-in-chief for the army, was demanded; for

on this selection, more than on any other ever made since the commencement of the revolutionary war, every thing dear to the country depended. The fame of the president was itself concerned; for another defeat would scarcely have failed to involve his character deeply in its humiliating consequences. Bravery, and a general knowledge of the science of war, were by no means the chief requisites demanded in the character that should be called to command the army. The soundest judgment—the most consummate prudence; a capacity to comprehend all the great and various interests concerned—the cautious coolness, and guarded circumspection, necessary to counteract the wiles of a subtle enemy—a perfect knowledge of human nature and that control and influence over men, indispensable to restore and confirm confidence both in the public and in the army, which is the attribute of genius, and only given to superior minds; withal, a strict disciplinarian, mingling firmness with conciliation, that should at once command respect and love—these, with a soul animated by patriotism and a love of glory, impelling to noble deeds, were the requisites, if they could be found in one man, which the occasion imperiously demanded. Among the peculiar traits that distinguished Washington, was his knowledge of character. Having acted with Wayne in the most trying scenes of the revolutionary war, the best opportunity existed for a thorough knowledge of his fitness for the important command.

On the 25th of May, 1792, Wayne having been furnished by the secretary at war with the instructions of the president, in which it was emphatically expressed, “that another defeat would be inexpressibly ruinous to the reputation of the government,” immediately took leave of his family and friends, and repaired to Pittsburg, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the

troops, where he arrived early in June. By a new organization, the army was to consist of one major-general, four brigadier-generals and their respective staffs, the commissioned officers, and 5120 non-commissioned officers and privates, the whole to be denominated "THE LEGION OF THE UNITED STATES." The legion to be divided into four sub-legions, each to consist of commissioned officers named, and 1280 non-commissioned officers and privates. The previous army having been nearly annihilated, a new one was to be recruited. Most of the experienced officers having been slain in the defeats of Harmer and St. Clair, or resigned their commissions, the labors of the commanding general were augmented to an extent which nothing but the most unwearied patience and ardent zeal could have performed. Many of the officers, as well as most of the soldiers, had yet to learn the rudiments of their profession. The organization of the troops, military tactics, discipline, &c. &c., devolved so far upon the general, as to leave him scarcely time, without infinite labor, to keep up the correspondence incident to his station. His efforts were indefatigable; and it is impossible, at the present day, to form an adequate idea of the difficulties he had to encounter—the labors to perform—and the obstacles he was called to surmount. So panic-struck was the whole country at the repeated and bloody successes of the enemy, that an engagement with them was looked to as certain defeat. A perfect horror seemed to seize the recruits when marched from the rendezvous where they had enlisted, and their faces turned to join the army. In a letter to the secretary at war, dated Pittsburg, 20th July, 1792, Gen. Wayne says:—"The detachment, under Major Ashton arrived at this place on Monday Lieutenant; Miss Campbell's, with Stakes' dragoons and Captain Faulkner's riflemen,

on Tuesday. I am, however, sorry to inform you of the alarming desertion that prevailed in Ashton's detachment and Stakes' dragoons. Not less than fifty of the former, and seven of the latter, deserted on their march between Carlisle and Pittsburg." Most of the detachments of recruits suffered in the same manner; and all the wisdom of the general, by combining the strictest discipline with every milder means to inspire confidence and command obedience, was called into requisition. Another fact will show the degree of terror that the name of Indians had inspired, and the extraordinary difficulties the general had to surmount to introduce obedience, self-confidence, and courage. A letter to the secretary of war, dated Pittsburg, 10th August, 1792, says:—"Desertions have been frequent and alarming—two nights since, upon a report that a large body of Indians were close in our front, I ordered the troops to form for action, and rode along the line to inspire them with confidence, and gave a charge to those in the redoubts, which I had recently thrown up in our front and right flank, to maintain their posts, at any expense of blood, until I could gain the enemy's rear with the dragoons; but such was the defect of the human heart, that from excess of cowardice, one-third of the sentries deserted from their stations, so as to leave the most accessible places unguarded.

By the salutary measures adopted to introduce order and discipline, the army soon began, however, to assume its proper character. The troops were daily exercised in all the evolutions necessary to render them efficient soldiers, and more especially in those manœuvres proper in a campaign against savages. Firing at a mark was constantly practised, and rewards given to the best marksmen. To inspire emulation, the riflemen and infantry strove to excel, and the men soon at-

tained to an accuracy that gave them confidence in their own prowess. On the artillery, the general impressed the importance of that arm of the service. The dragoons he taught to rely on the broad sword, as all important to victory. The riflemen were made to see how much success must depend on their coolness, quickness, and accuracy; while the infantry were led to place entire confidence in the bayonet, as the certain and irresistible weapon before which the savages could not stand. The men were instructed to charge in open order; each to rely on himself, and to prepare for a personal contest with an enemy. The confidence inspired, and the rapid improvement in discipline, is frequently mentioned with pleasure, in the letters of the commanding general, written during the autumn; but the season was too far advanced before a reasonable force could be collected to warrant active operations.

Gen. Wayne had not permitted the summer to pass without adopting proper measures to ascertain the strength and disposition of the hostile Indians. Efforts were made to impress on their minds the earnest desire of the American government to make peace on terms that should be mutually just and honorable, and yet to leave no doubt that, if war was preferred by them, they would have to contend with a different force from that which they had previously encountered. Among the measures adopted by the government to obtain peace by pacific means, was that of sending Col. Harding and Maj. Trueman, brave officers and valuable men, with flags of truce to the Indians; but they were both wantonly murdered.

In the meantime, the Indians continued their depredations upon the frontier, except in the immediate neighborhood of posts occupied by detachments of troops; many valuable lives were lost. The Indians,

vaunting in their superiority, sent repeated messages of their desire to see the legion advance to their country; and claiming victory as if it were bound, by unalterable fate, to their standard.

A suitable position having been selected by Wayne to pass the winter, the army left Pittsburg on the 28th of November, and took up a position on the Ohio, twenty-two miles below that place, and seven above the mouth of the Big Beaver, to which he gave the name of Legionville. Here the troops were huddled, the general remaining in his marquee, and the officers in tents, until the soldiers were comfortably accommodated. The camp was fortified, and every possible preparation for defence adopted; for at that period the post selected was not considered beyond striking distance of a formidable force of the enemy.

Anxious to conciliate the Six Nations of Indians, who, though professing to be friendly, were uneasy and restless, Wayne sent an invitation to Cornplanter and New Arrow, two distinguished chiefs of their tribes, to visit him at Legionville, at which place they arrived, accompanied by Big Tree and old Guasutha, in March, 1793. Friendly disposed as they were, a toast given by Cornplanter, at the general's table, will show their sentiments of the terms on which they thought peace ought to be made between the American government and the Indians. "My mind and heart are upon that river," said Cornplanter, pointing to the Ohio; "may that water ever continue to run and remain the boundary of lasting peace between the Americans and Indians on its opposite shores." If such was the boundary line fixed upon by friendly Indians, it may safely be inferred that the demand of the hostile and victorious tribes were not less unreasonable. In truth, no doubt sustained by British policy, the Ohio was the division

boundary insisted upon. The United States must relinquish all claim north and west of that river, although repeated treaties, and fair purchase, had confirmed to them considerable portions of Indian titles, which had been pledged by the government to officers and soldiers of the revolution, or continue the war. This point is proper to be distinctly known, as it shows that the advance of Wayne into the Indian country, was not a measure of aggression, but of indispensable necessity to sustain unquestionable rights, as well as to curb the ferocity of the savages.

In a letter to the secretary of war, dated "Legionville, 30th March, 1793," the general says:—"The progress that the troops have made, both in manœuvring and as marksmen, astonished the savages on St. Patrick's day; and I am happy to inform you that the sons of that Saint were perfectly sober and orderly, being out of the reach of whisky, which BANEFUL POISON is prohibited from entering this camp, except the component part of the ration, or a little for fatigue duty, or on some extraordinary occasion." The information contained in this extract is regarded as reflecting great credit on Wayne. The highly improved discipline of the legion now gave their general full confidence in them. Speaking of a meeting proposed by the government to be held to form a treaty with the Indians, in whose determination for war he was yet fully satisfied, the general playfully expresses a wish to be present, "with 2500 of his commissioners in company, with not a single Quaker among them," (meaning not one having conscientious scruples of bearing arms,) in which case he feels confident an honorable peace would be the result. Soliciting the secretary "to forward certain legionary distinctive decorations; also, a legionary standard, and sub-legionary and battalion co-

lours,"—he says emphatically, "THEY SHALL NOT BE LOST."

The winter was not productive of any striking events. Early in April, Wayne announced his readiness to descend the river, having a respectable body of well disciplined troops, in whom he expressed perfect confidence. The ruinous disasters of previous campaigns afford abundant reason for the tardiness of enlistments. Though Washington was at the head of the government, and Wayne at the head of the army, the overwhelming defeats of Harmer and St. Clair, still threw a damp upon the ardor of those who, under more propitious circumstances, would have cheerfully rallied under the standard of the hero of Stony Point. Boats being in readiness, Wayne, with the Federal army, departed from Legionville on the 30th of April, 1793.

While descending to the place of their destination, we may take occasion to make a remark upon the spirit of the army. Among the soldiers, discipline, and their uncommon accuracy in firing at a mark, had inspired confidence in themselves, as it was unbounded in their commander; but among a portion of the officers the seeds of disorganization were deeply sown. By the French revolution, the opinions of men throughout the civilized world, had become extremely unsettled. The principles of liberty and equality, so correct in the abstract, seem totally incompatible with the subordination and obedience requisite to the discipline of an army. Throughout the United States, the minds of men were excited to such a degree, that reason was loosened from her empire; and it required all the wisdom, character, and firmness of Washington, to save the country from being involved in a foreign war, and to preserve the government from being overthrown by faction at home. Gen. Wayne frequently complained

of the baleful leaven being infused into the army, and the difficulties consequently experienced by him. Certain officers, tinctured with the prevailing mania, were little disposed to yield that entire obedience which was deemed essential to the safety of the army. Several tendered their commissions; the mind of the general was made up not to meet the enemy with officers on whom he could not repose confidence; and the commissions were, somewhat unexpectedly, promptly accepted. The utmost firmness and prudence were necessary to save the legion from being disturbed by these feuds which entered into every other circle; but the wisdom displayed, produced the desired results; the army, in all its grades, yielded to that strict discipline which was indispensable to victory.

The immediate destination of the troops was Fort Washington, then near the village, now the city, of Cincinnati. Nearly due north from that point, distant eighty miles, is situated Fort Jefferson, which is twenty-nine miles from the battle ground where St. Clair was defeated. In six days the army arrived at Fort Washington, but Wayne preferred a position a mile below, for reasons stated in a letter to the secretary of war, dated Hobson's Choice, (the name given to his new camp,) 9th May, 1793. "We are now encamped a mile below Fort Washington, on the margin of the river, with a wide swamp in our front, and the Ohio in our rear; there is no good ground for manœuvres or encampment in the neighborhood of Fort Washington; add to this, that the village of Cincinnati is directly upon our right flank, filled with *ardent poison*, and caittiff wretches to dispose of it." Impatient to be engaged in useful service, the general proceeds:—"I now anxiously await the arrival of Major Hughes, with the old garrisons of forts Franklin and Cassawauga; by

the aid of those, I hope to receive permission to take such position or positions as will enable me to make the necessary arrangements for effectual operations, which, with all our industry, will be a work of time, fatigue, and difficulty." Of his soldiers, he says:—"It is an old observation, and it is a very just one, that it requires three years for a soldier to learn to live upon his ration, and to take proper care of his arms and clothing. I am happy, however, to have it in my power to declare, that both officers and soldiers have acquired a greater degree of military knowledge in the course of a few months, than I ever saw acquired in twice that time by any soldiers during the late war. How they will behave in action, is yet to be determined—a very great proportion of them are certainly good marksmen, and they perform the different evolutions with a velocity and precision seldom excelled." But the solicitude of the general and troops for orders to advance, was not gratified. The American government was extremely desirous of peace, and Gen. Knox, secretary of war, in a letter to Gen. Wayne, dated January 5, 1793, says:—"The sentiments of the citizens of the United States, are adverse, *in the extreme*, to an Indian war." Intimation having been given by the Indians of a disposition to treat, a commission, in the highest degree respectable, was appointed to meet them, consisting of Gen. Lincoln, Col. Pickering, and Beverly Randolph, Esq., of Virginia. While the negotiations were pending, the secretary of war, in a letter to Wayne, thus expresses himself:—"It will hereafter be still more and more necessary, even than the past summer, that *no offensive operations* be undertaken against the Indians." Col. Hull, of Massachusetts, was despatched early in the season to Niagara, to purchase provisions, and to make the necessary ar-

rangements for holding the treaty. The commissioners, agreeably to their instructions, repaired to the place appointed to meet the Indians. On the 20th of April, 1793, the secretary of war writes to Gen. Wayne:—"The president has directed me to communicate to you the following general ideas:

"That all possible caution and vigilance, agreeably to my letter of the 13th, be observed, to prevent the irruption of any parties of whites towards the Indian country during the continuance of the treaty, and until further permission from you.

"That the commissioners are instructed to use every exertion to bring the treaty to a close, on or before the first of August next, so that, in case of an unsuccessful issue, you may have time to carry on your operations.

"That in case of a successful treaty, the commissioners will inform you directly thereof—but that in case of an unsuccessful issue, they are directed to send you a letter, with many copies thereof, signed by themselves, of the following form:

"We were at Sandusky —— days. Although we did not effect a peace, yet we hope that good may hereafter arise from the mission."

Autograph signatures of the respective commissioners were also sent, to prevent imposition.

Thus restrained from active operations, Wayne devoted himself to perfecting the preparations necessary, if the negotiations should not, as he was fully persuaded they would not, eventuate in peace. The troops were manœuvred and disciplined. Arrangements were adopted for bringing into service an auxiliary aid of mounted volunteers from Kentucky. Vigorous exertions were made to insure a full supply of provisions, especially at the head of the line; for the command-

ing general was fully impressed with the importance of placing the army not only beyond the reach, but beyond the apprehension of want. It is scarcely possible to conceive the difficulties encountered in effecting this indispensable object. So inadequate were the contractors' supplies to accomplish the wishes of the commander-in-chief, that additional and effectual means were promptly adopted to effect the purpose. In truth, from the moment of his taking the command, from the want of experienced officers in several departments, it became necessary for him to attend to them much in detail. By the organization of the legion he was entitled to the aid of four brigadier-generals; whereas he had but one during the greater period of his campaigns, and at no time more than two, one of whom was his gallant and distinguished friend Gen. Thomas Posey. His vigilant eye, however, let nothing pass without the closest inspection; and his untiring industry and devotion were repaid by the order and perfection introduced into every department of the army. An extensive correspondence devolved upon the general, which was kept up with scrupulous regularity; and the letters written in the hurry of business and in the bustle of a camp, when exposed to the most critical inspection, display extraordinary clearness of mind and felicity of expression, strength and soundness of judgment, and admirable knowledge of the duties of his profession, of human nature, of the people of the frontiers whom he was to defend, and of the foes he was commissioned to subdue. In the extraordinary situation of the world, the conduct of France, Great Britain, and Spain, frequently influencing events in which the army were concerned, called for his animadversions, and they will uniformly be found to be those of

a statesman of enlarged, liberal, and correct views, breathing throughout the purest patriotism.

As had been foreseen by Wayne, the negotiations failed of their object; the Indians haughtily and peremptorily insisting upon the Ohio to be established as the boundary, on which terms alone they would condescend to grant peace to the United States. But one course was left. In a letter from Gen. Knox, secretary of war, dated Sept. 3, 1793, he says:—"The Indians have refused to treat. The enclosed has just been received from the commissioners." The secretary proceeds to say: "You are now to judge whether your force will be adequate to make these audacious savages feel our superiority in arms. Every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword; the efforts have failed, under circumstances which leave nothing for us to expect but war. Let it therefore be again, and for the last time, impressed deeply on your mind, that as little as possible is to be hazarded; that your force be fully adequate to the object you purpose to effect; and that a defeat at the present time, and under present circumstances, would be *pernicious in the highest degree* to the interests of our country.

"Your arrangements having been prepared for this event, if no unforeseen circumstances should occur to prevent your proceeding, nothing further remains but to commit you, and the troops employed under you, to the protection of the Supreme Being—hoping you and they will have all possible success in the measures you may be about to take, to prevent the murder of helpless women and children."

Gen. Wayne had previously been informed of the rupture of the negotiations, and had taken the most prompt measures to advance into the Indian country. Conformably to full authority reposed in him, he called for

one thousand mounted men from Kentucky ; and in a letter dated Head Quarters, Hobson's Choice, near Fort Washington, 5th October, 1793, to the secretary of war, he says :—" I will advance to-morrow, with the force I have, in order to take up a position about six miles in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check, by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their women and children, until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present, to strike with effect.

" I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the mind of the President or yourself, on account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of government, (which I will support with my latest breath,) you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily ; and unless more powerfully supported than I have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position in advance of Fort Jefferson, and, by exerting every power, endeavor to protect the frontier, and to secure the posts and army during the winter, or until I am favored with your further orders."

In the autumn, while at Hobson's Choice, the troops had not only been visited by fevers usual to the season, but the influenza passed through the camp, affecting almost every man, (some severely,) although there were from that disease but few deaths. The small-pox also made its appearance, and tended, in some degree, to diminish his strength. Although the legion, when complete, should have contained 5,120 men, the actual effective force that marched into the wilderness, did not exceed half that number.

On the 7th October, the army marched from Hobson's Choice, and, on the 13th, took up a position six

miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, and eighty from Fort Washington, on the south-west branch of the Miami. A council of officers being called, it was resolved to fortify the post in the most perfect manner, rendering it impregnable to savage force. Wayne gave it the name of Greeneville, as a mark of respect to his revolutionary friend and companion in arms, the deceased Maj. Gen. Greene.* In a letter to the secretary of war, dated from this camp, 23d October, 1793, the general gives an account of an attack on the 17th, upon one of his convoys of provisions, under Lieutenant Lowrey and Ensign Boyd, consisting of ninety men. "These two gallant young gentlemen, who promised, at a future day, to be ornaments to their profession, together with thirteen men, non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell, after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the escort upon the first discharge." Such were the terrors the Indians had inspired. In the meantime Gen. Scott, with a party of mounted men, arrived; but the season was too far advanced, and the force assembled too inadequate to enter upon decisive active operations; from which prudence effectually dissuaded, and they were permitted to return home.

In a letter of Wayne, dated December 4th, he remarks:—"It is now turned of three months since I have been honored with a single line, or any commands from you;" which circumstance, probably, as clearly as any other, will show how far into the wilderness, and beyond the line of ordinary communication, the army was then advanced. On the 23d December, Wayne despatched Maj. Burbeck, with eight companies of foot and a detachment of artillery, with orders to possess

* Gen. Greene died June 19th, 1786.

the field of action of the 4th November, 1791, and there to fortify. To this post was given the name of Fort Recovery.

For the purpose of encouraging the troops who were ordered on this service, as well as for that of superintending the contemplated works, Wayne personally advanced to the same point, with a small reinforcement of mounted infantry, accompanied by the officers mentioned in the following extract from general orders, which gives a brief account of the proceedings on the above mentioned interesting subject :

“The commander-in-chief returns his most grateful thanks to Major Henry Burbeck, and to every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private, belonging to the detachment under his command, for their soldierly and exemplary good conduct during their late arduous tour of duty, and the cheerfulness with which they surmounted every difficulty at this inclement season, in repossessing General St. Clair’s field of battle, and erecting thereon *Fort Recovery*—a work impregnable by savage force ; as also, for piously and carefully collecting and interring the bones, and paying the last respect and military honors to the remains of the heroes who fell on the 4th of November, 1791, by three times three discharges, from the *same artillery* that was lost on that fatal day, but now recovered by this detachment of the legion.

“The commander-in-chief also requests Major Mills, Captains De Butts and Butler, Lieutenant Harrison, and Dr. Scott, to accept of his best thanks for their voluntary aid and services upon this occasion.”

More anxious to produce delay, and perhaps, by their flags, to reconnoiter his position with safety, than sincerely desirous of peace, the Indians, immediately after the erection of Fort Recovery, sent a pacific mes-

sage to Wayne, and proposed that negotiations for a treaty should be opened, for the adjustment of all difficulties that existed. Being fully empowered by his government upon the subject, and knowing the earnest desire of the administration and people, that the contest should be brought to a close, Wayne, although he had no faith in their honesty of purpose, but regarded the proposal as a stratagem to further their hostile designs, did not feel himself warranted to decline the overture. Determined, however, not to be the victim of their wiles, he met their advance with declarations of satisfaction; professed his entire readiness to make peace on terms that should be mutually just; and only required, on their part, the release of the captives in their possession, as a proof of their sincerity. The flag departed, being allowed thirty days to return with the final answer of their chiefs. At this period, Big Tree, a Seneca warrior of eminence, who was with the army, having attached himself to the American cause, committed suicide at Fort Greeneville. "I have lost," said he, "a very dear friend—the friend of my heart—General Richard Butler." He had sworn to sacrifice three enemies to the manes of his departed friend. Exasperated at the thought of peace, he put an end to his existence.

Upon the approach of spring, affairs assumed an aspect in the highest degree interesting, and called for the full exercise of the vigilance and wisdom of the commander of the army. Officially notified of a combination of persons on the Ohio, with a design to invade the territories of Spain, to his discretion was committed the authority to arrest the persons concerned, and to prevent its accomplishment. Prompt measures were taken to garrison Fort Massac, thirty-eight miles above the mouth of the Ohio. Having learned that

Gayaso, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, had crossed the Mississippi, invaded the United States' territory, and fortified a position at the Chickasaw Bluffs, Wayne forthwith despatched a messenger, with a letter, demanding to know by what authority the governor had taken a step so hostile and extraordinary. The conduct and letter of Wayne received from the government expressions of entire approbation. The spoliation upon American commerce, and the generally hostile spirit of the measures of Great Britain, gave strong reasons to fear a war with that nation. The speech of Lord Dorchester to the Indians, the refusal to deliver up the posts, and other unequivocal indications, left no room to doubt but the Indians were stimulated to hostilities by the British authorities in Canada; and a British garrison having been advanced, and fortified itself within the territory of the United States, at the rapids of the Miami, rendered it probable that the savages would be sustained, in case of a battle, by veteran battalions of their white allies.

Thus surrounded with difficulties and dangers, placed in circumstances delicate as they were new and embarrassing, Wayne rose in proportion to the pressure, and showed that his abilities were equal to the emergency. To sustain and cheer him at this trying moment, a communication from the secretary of war, under date of the 31st March, brought him the explicit approbation of the President. Speaking of his "taking post at the battle field of the 4th of November, 1791," and "the manner in which he treated the overtures of the hostile Indians,"—of the first, it was declared to be "*highly satisfactory*"—the last, "exceeding proper;" and the secretary proceeds to say:—"It is with great pleasure, sir, that I transmit to you the approbation of the President of the United States, of your conduct

generally, since you have had the command, and more particularly for the judicious and military formation and discipline of the troops ; the precautions you appear to have taken in your advance, in your fortified camp, and in your arrangement to have full and abundant supplies of provisions on hand. Continue, sir, to proceed in this manner, and your success will be certain."

In a subsequent letter, Wayne is authorized, should he deem it proper, to take the British fort on the rapids of the Miami. "If, therefore," said Secretary Knox, "in the course of your operations against the Indian enemy, it should become necessary to dislodge the party at the rapids of the Miami, you are hereby authorized, in the name of the President of the United States, to do it." To the discretion of Wayne was, therefore, confided, not only the sole conduct of the Indian war, but the authority to take a step which must certainly have involved the nation in war with Great Britain. How far these high discretionary powers were wisely reposed, let the issue determine.

In consequence of authority vested in him, the Indians having failed to enter into negotiations for peace, and the time for active operations having come, Wayne had called upon the governor of Kentucky for 2000 mounted volunteers.

On the morning of the 30th of June, an escort, consisting of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, commanded by Maj. M'Mahon, was attacked by a numerous body of Indians, under the walls of Fort Recovery, followed by a general assault upon that fort. The enemy, driven back by a deadly fire, renewed the attack with great spirit, but were finally repulsed, with heavy loss. During the night, the savages were employed in carrying off their dead and wounded, but several were found the next morning, close under the guns of the

fort. Circumstances existed, amounting nearly to positive proof, to show that the Indians were aided by a considerable auxiliary British force. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained; but as their number was upwards of 1500, and for some time exposed to the cannon of the fort, as well as rifles and musketry, it must have been considerable. The American loss was twenty-five killed and forty wounded. Among those gallant officers who fell, "were Major M'Mahon, Captain Hartshorne, and Lieutenant Craig, of the rifle corps, and Cornet Torney, of the cavalry; among the wounded, the intrepid Captain Taylor, of the dragoons and Lieutenant Drake, of the infantry." Wayne expressed himself in high terms of praise of the bravery and good conduct displayed by both officers and men; acknowledging particular obligation to Captain Alexander Gibson, who commanded the fort. Thus, on the very ground which was the scene of their proudest victory, the Indians were taught, under the auspices of a new commander, to know the superiority of the American arms.

It was past the middle of July before the mounted volunteers from Kentucky, under Maj. Gen. Scott, arrived at Greeneville. Every preparation which prudence could devise and skill execute, having now been completed, and the anxiously looked for aid having joined the army, Wayne moved with his main force, and on the 8th of August took up a position about seventy miles in advance of Greeneville, at Grand Glaize, in the very heart of the Indian settlements. So unexpected and rapid was the movement upon this point, that, but for the treachery and desertion of a soldier, the enemy must have suffered a complete surprise. Wayne having made such demonstrations as led the Indians to believe the villages on the Miami, forty-eight miles W.

S. W. of Grand Glaize, would be the object of attack, entering at once the part of their settlements lying under the protection of the garrison of a British fort, was a step equally bold and prudent. "Thus, sir," says Wayne, in his letter of August 14th, to Gen. Knox, "we have gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians in the west, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens, show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miamis of the Lake and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."

Himself a scientific and practical engineer, Wayne immediately erected a strong fortification at the confluence of the Au Glaize and the Miami, to which he gave the name of Fort Defiance. Though now prepared to strike a decisive blow, yet always actuated by principles of humanity, the commander of the army, generous as brave, averted the stroke, to make one more and last effort to restore tranquillity without the further effusion of blood. "I have thought proper," he said, "to offer the enemy a last overture of peace; and as they have every thing that is dear and interesting at stake, I have reason to expect they will listen to the proposition mentioned in the enclosed copy of an address, despatched yesterday by a special flag, under circumstances that will insure his safe return, and which may eventually spare the effusion of much human blood. But," he adds, "should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all-powerful and just God, I therefore commit myself and gallant army."

Stimulated by their British allies, confidently relying on their fortunes, their prowess, and their friends, they resolved to abide the issue of an engagement, and rejected the proposed offer.

That engagement almost immediately followed ; and as no pen can describe it so correctly as the commanding general himself, we copy his letter to the secretary of war entire.

“ *Head Quarters,* }
“ *Grand Glaize, 28th August, 1794.* }

“ SIR—It is with infinite pleasure that I now announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal army under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th instant, on the banks of the Miamis, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison, at the foot of the rapids.

“ The army advanced from this place on the 15th instant, and arrived at Roche de Bout on the 18th ; the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy, who were encamped behind a thick bushy wood and the British fort.

“ At 8 o'clock, on the morning of the 20th, the army again advanced in columns, agreeably to the standing order of march ; the legion on the right flank, covered by the Miamis,—one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier-General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier-General Barbee :—a select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced—so as to give timely notice for the troops to form, in case of action—it being

yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war. After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods, and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

"The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close, thick wood, which extended for miles on our left; and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect; and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their savage mode of warfare: they were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending near two miles, at right angles with the river.

"I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire, and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance, to support the first, and directed Major-General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route: at the same time I ordered the front line to advance with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts, at the point of the bayonet; and, when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give time to load again. I also ordered Captain Miss Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in.

"All those orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and

Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, yet but a part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being driven, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers.

“From every account, the enemy amounted to 2000 combatants; the troops actually engaged against them, were short of 900. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay; leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion.

“The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the generals down to the ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure and the most lively gratitude: among whom I must beg leave to mention Brigadier-General Wilkinson and Colonel Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops; to these, I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, Captains De Butts and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant-General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their con-



Battle of the Miamis.

(To face page 194.

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duct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory. Lieutenant Covington, upon whom the command of the cavalry now devolved, cut down two savages with his own hand, and Lieutenant Webb one, in turning the enemy's left flank.

"The wounds received by Captains Slough and Prior, and Lieutenants Campbell, Smith, (an extra aide-camp to General Wilkinson,) of the legionary infantry, and Captain Van Rensselaer, of the dragoons, and Captain Rawlins, Lieutenant M'Kenney, and Ensign Duncan, of the mounted volunteers, bear honorable testimony of their bravery and conduct.

"Captains H. Lewis and Brock, with their companies of light infantry, had to sustain an unequal fire for some time, which they supported with fortitude. In fact, every officer and soldier who had an opportunity to come into action, displayed that true bravery which will always insure success.

"And here permit me to declare, that I never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action, than appeared to pervade the whole of the mounted volunteers; and I am well persuaded that had the enemy maintained their favorite ground but for one half hour longer, they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

"But whilst I pay this just tribute to the living, I must not forget the gallant dead; among whom we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers, Captain Miss Campbell, of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Towles, of the light infantry of the legion, who fell in the first charge.

"Enclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was more than double that of the Federal army. The woods were strewed, for a considerable distance, with the dead

bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries ; the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

“ We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miamis, in front of the field of battle ; during which time all the houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miamis, as well as within pistol-shot of that garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators of this general devastation and conflagration ; among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel M’Kee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

“ The army returned to this place on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and corn-fields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miamis. There remains yet a number of villages, and a great quantity of corn, to be consumed or destroyed upon Au Glaize and the Miamis, above this place, which will be effected in the course of a few days. In the interim, we shall improve Fort Defiance, and as soon as the escort returns with the necessary supplies from Greenville and Fort Recovery, the army will proceed to the Miami villages, in order to accomplish the object of the campaign.

“ It is, however, not improbable that the enemy may make one more desperate effort against the army, as it is said that a reinforcement was hourly expected at Fort Miamis, from Niagara, as well as numerous tribes of Indians living on the margins and islands of the lakes. This is a business rather to be wished for than dreaded, whilst the army remains in force. Their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be the more complete and decisive, and

which may eventually insure a permanent and happy peace.

“Under these impressions, I have the honor to be your most obedient and very humble servant,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“*The Hon. Major General Knox,*

“*Secretary of War.*”

“N. B. I had forgot to mention that I met my flag on the 16th, who was returning with an evasive answer, in order to gain time for the arrival of the reinforcement mentioned by the Shawanee Indians, which actually did arrive two days before the action.”

In this decisive action, the whole loss of Wayne's army, in killed and wounded, amounted only to one hundred and seven men. The loss of the enemy was more than double that number.

A spirited correspondence took place between Wayne and Col. Campbell, who commanded the British fort. The position was carefully reconnoitered within pistol-shot distance, not, perhaps, without a latent wish that such provocation should be given as would justify to the whole world its capture. But the victory of the 20th had satisfied the commander that the most prudent forbearance would alone insure his safety; and that cool and deliberate policy of the American general, which invariably guided his conduct, induced him on the occasion to repress the ardor of his men, and, indeed, to subdue his own feelings. He therefore contented himself with destroying the savage's property, under the very guns of the fort, so as to show them that they could repose no confidence in the protecting power of the British flag.

After effectually strengthening Fort Defiance, the army took up its line of march on the 14th Septem-

ber, and, on the 17th, arrived at the Miami villages ; from whence, having fully accomplished the object of his expedition, the general returned to winter quarters at Greeneville.

The victory of the 20th of August, so glorious to the American arms, and the subsequent movement of the army, produced the most decisive effects. The lofty spirit of the Indian warriors was subdued. They were taught that no just reliance could be placed on British protection ; and the superior power of the American nation was made so manifest, that the chiefs and warriors came forward and sued for peace.

Preliminary articles were entered into on the 1st of January, 1795, and hostages were left with Gen. Wayne, for the safe delivery of prisoners in possession of the Indians. Nor was it on the north-western frontier alone that the victory produced important results. The voice of faction, which had risen to such a height as to embitter the life of Washington, was for a season hushed. The general administration felt itself strengthened by the redeeming influence of success, wiping away the stain that repeated defeat had thrown on the American arms. The flame of war which was kindling both among the Six Nations and the southern tribes bordering on Georgia, was extinguished ; while the near prospect of a happy termination of all the difficulties in the north-west, stimulated the lukewarm and increased the zeal of the active friends of government. The news rapidly crossed the Atlantic, and proved most effectual aid to Mr. Jay, in bringing the negotiation with the British government, with which he was charged, to a fortunate conclusion. On the 20th of August, the victory was gained ; and on the 19th of November, ninety days, (just time for the information to reach London and produce its full

impression,) the treaty was signed by Mr. Jay and Lord Grenville. Thus the fruits were as happy as the achievement was glorious.

A commission was forthwith issued by the President, appointing Gen. Wayne sole commissioner, with full powers to negotiate and conclude a treaty with all the Indians north and west of the Ohio.

In the negotiation with the various tribes, whose jealousies and passions were constantly excited by emissaries from the British, who did not wish peace to be concluded with their savage friends until the treaty with Great Britain should be finally ratified, Wayne displayed the consummate wisdom and prudence of the statesman. Open, frank, and undissembling, he treated the chiefs and warriors with confidence and courtesy; explained to them, in the plainest manner, the just views of the government; and impressed upon their minds the truth, that the United States, while they were fully prepared for war, yet earnestly desired peace with them on equitable terms. By this manly and direct course he gained their confidence, and turned it to the best interest of his country, (for he did not abuse it,) and, at the close of the negotiation, those proud and fierce sons of the forest cherished a respect for the American commissioner in council, as sincere as the dread they entertained of the general in the field.

After a protracted negotiation, the definitive articles of peace were exchanged on the 7th of August, 1795, and the Indians returned to their homes, their affections won by the moderation and fairness with which they were treated. A restoration of prisoners took place, and many were the scenes of touching interest presented on the return of sons and daughters to their

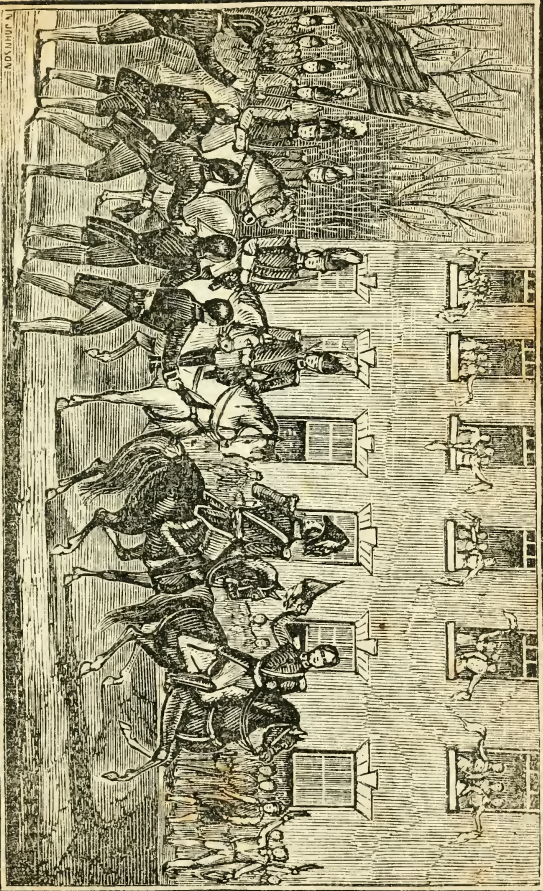
friends, to whom they were given up after a long and hopeless captivity, as victims snatched from the grave.

The treaty met the entire approbation and prompt ratification of the government; a treaty which not only secured a long and uninterrupted peace to the western inhabitants, but, by fair and honorable negotiation and purchase, procured a cessation of territory to the United States, now estimated at millions.

As the tidings of the victory of Wayne flew from town to town, and from city to city, they awakened a thrill of inexpressible joy, that told how much more had been accomplished than the most sanguine had dared to expect. Congress, at its meeting, adopted resolutions unanimously, in the highest degree complimentary to Gen. Wayne and his gallant army; and President Washington again conveyed to him the expression of his warmest approbation and esteem. The confidence of the executive in his wisdom, prudence, and discretion, were unbounded; and there is reason to suppose that it was contemplated to intrust to his charge the department of war.

Peace being proclaimed, Wayne, after three years and a half of painful and unremitting service, left the army to visit his family and friends. At every place on his way, he was met by distinguished marks of respect; and his entry into Philadelphia was more gratifying than a Roman triumph. It was on the 6th of February, 1796. All business was suspended. He was met on his way by the military companies of the city, and passed through the streets amid the ringing of bells, the animating sounds of martial music, and the still dearer heart-felt acclamations of joy and welcome of a grateful and admiring people.*

* "On Saturday last, [Feb. 6,] about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, arrived in this city, after an absence of more than three



Wayne's entry into Philadelphia.

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But, during his absence, in the course of the winter, new and dark clouds had been gathering in the west. Party excitement against the British treaty, and especially the strenuous opposition in Congress to making appropriations to carry it into effect, led to the belief that war would yet ensue; and Canadian emissaries had renewed their machinations to poison the minds of the Indians, and prepare them for hostilities. Other causes of alarm existed in the western country, growing out of the proceedings of the Spanish governor of Louisiana, who had despatched some persons up the Ohio under very suspicious circumstances.

By the treaty, the British posts at Detroit, Michilimackinack, Oswego, and Niagara, were immediately to be given up to the United States, and a commissioner, in whom the government had full confidence, was deemed necessary to receive them.

Under these circumstances, Gen. Wayne, charged with extensive discretionary power, returned in June, 1796, to the western country. Prompt measures were taken to effect the objects committed to his charge. Some presumed emissaries were arrested, and their views traced. At his approach, the spirit of enmity among the savages entirely disappeared; they hailed

years, on an expedition against the western Indians, (in which he proved so happily successful,) Major-General Wayne. Four miles from the city, he was met by three troops of Philadelphia light-horse, and escorted by them to town. On his crossing the Schuylkill, a salute of fifteen cannon was fired from the Centre Square, by a party of artillery. He was ushered into the city by the ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of joy, and thousands of citizens crowded to see and welcome the return of their brave general, whom they attended to the City tavern, where he alighted. In the evening a display of fireworks was exhibited."—*Pennsylvania Gazette, Philadelphia, Wednesday, Feb. 10, 1796.*

his return with the greatest marks of confidence and respect.

The treaty of peace with Great Britain having been ratified, and appropriation made to carry it into effect, orders had been received to deliver up the posts ; which Wayne, in a letter of September, announced to have received, and compliments the urbanity and friendly spirit displayed by the British officers and agents whom it was his duty to meet.

Thus happily terminated the troubles which had so long existed on the north-western frontier ; the effusion of blood was stayed, the murder of women and children averted, and the foundation of a permanent and lasting peace was laid. Indeed, happier results from the highest bravery and consummate wisdom have been rarely experienced.

Having put affairs in a proper state to be left, in November, Gen. Wayne sailed from Detroit for Presque Isle, the last post which it was his duty to visit previous to repairing to the seat of government. But Providence did not permit him, his friends and country, that happiness. On his passage he was seized (on the 17th November, the day before he landed,) with an attack of the gout, which continued until the 30th, and then seemed to subside ; but, like a subtle enemy that retires but to gather strength, it returned with increased force, and made its lodgement in the stomach, from which no skill could expel it ; and, on the 15th of December, 1796, he breathed his last, in the full vigor of life, in the noon-tide of glory, and in the midst of usefulness.

The patriotism, spirit, and military character of Gen. Wayne are written in every leaf of his country's history from the dawn of the Revolution to the close of his eventful life. If you ask who obeyed the first call

of America and urged their way to the Canadian frontier at the opening of the war; do you not find Wayne first upon the battle-ground and the last to retire? Ask who bore the brunt of the action on the left wing at the battle of Brandywine? who gallantly led his division to victory on the right wing at the battle of Germantown? who bore the fiercest charge at the battle of Monmouth? who, in the hour of gloom, roused the desponding spirits of the army and nation by the glorious storming and capturing of Stony Point? But where was there danger and duty, and it was possible for him to be present, and he was not there? Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, were all scenes of his active service, and the latter awarded him special honors.

During the Revolution, he served his country from the frozen regions of the St. Lawrence to the burning sands of the St. Mary's—possessing the entire confidence as well as private friendship of the commander-in-chief. Throughout the greater portion of the war, though holding only the rank and receiving the emoluments of a brigadier, he performed the duty, held the command, and incurred the responsibility of a major-general. From his extreme daring at Stony Point, and on every occasion when it was necessary, like Napoleon at the bridge of Lodi, to put every thing at hazard for his country, an idea was put forth by some who really mistook his character or envied his fame, that courage was his chief and distinguishing attribute. No opinion could be more unjust. We discover that Washington as repeatedly confided on his wisdom in advising, and his prudence in the execution of his plans, as on his valor. In truth, in him the daring and hazardous assault or the cautious retreat, avoiding the enemy

or meeting him at the bayonet's point, was always the result of high moral duty, and he fashioned his conduct to the well regulated desire of effecting most for his country, with the means at his command. The idol of his soldiery—if he studied their characters and adapted himself by perfect fearlessness to their predilection, we cannot but deem it as an additional proof of his profound knowledge of human nature, and commend him for turning it to his country's advantage. A strict disciplinarian, he was firm and decisive in enforcing obedience, knowing that the safety of the army and the cause itself depended upon subordination and the prompt conformity to orders. But the stern exterior of the commander always relaxed, and feelings, humane and tender to an amiable degree were exhibited when the health and comfort of his soldiers were concerned. His letters repeatedly disclose the most pressing instances for necessities for his men; provisions, clothing, medicines; and therefore was it that their love for him warmed into the ardor of devotion.

A gentleman of accomplished and refined manners, no one more delighted to relieve the hardships of war by the courtesies of social intercourse. Much to the injury of his private fortune, he kept a table throughout the greatest portion of the war of the Revolution, which was frequented by respectable strangers who visited the camp, and the intelligent and brave among his companions in arms. In the private walks of life, his virtues were not less conspicuous than his conduct and valor in the field. His letters to Mrs. Wayne and family, kept up the whole time of his absence, breathe the most tender spirit and affectionate heart.

When a great man, running the race for glory, acts before the public, you do not always read his whole soul, and are not certain that you realize his true cha-

racter. In the instance before us, if permission and space were allowed for the publication of the aforesaid letters, it would be truly pleasing to raise the veil and be permitted to enter the domestic sanctuary where, without reserve, the heart is laid open in all the simplicity of native character; and there, the vizor of the warrior taken off, the helmet of the hero laid aside, to find all the amiable traits which adorn the husband, the father, and the friend. Hector, taking leave of Andromache, is, if possible, more interesting than in the dire conflict with Patroclus.

The general, in a letter addressed to his accomplished and amiable daughter, the late Mrs. Margaret Atlee, after speaking of the recent death of her mother in the most affecting manner, adds, "You were both [meaning his only son and daughter] infants when I was first called upon by my country to defend her rights and liberties; in which hazardous task I spent my prime of life, nor was I sparing of my blood. At the close of the late war, from the vicissitudes of fortune, we were again separated; and at a period when fortune, tired of her persecution, began to smile upon me, and promised me ease and retirement, I was again called forth to form and lead her legion, which had yet to learn the dreadful trade of death, against a victorious and insulting savage foe.

"From these causes have we been separated from each other; and from these causes has an affectionate and an indulgent parent been lost, and almost a stranger to his children and family."

The camp of Gen. Wayne was a school for young soldiers. The discipline of arms, the courtesy of gentlemen, and the prudent conduct of affairs, were here acquired and practised; and Wayne took pleasure in encouraging and advancing merit. The honorable

William Henry Harrison,* the Hero of Tippecanoe and of the Thames, learned the art of war under Wayne, to whom he was aid in the victory of the Miamis. Eaton, who planted the American standard on the walls of a Barbarian capital, in Africa, was a captain in that campaign. Pike and Covington were there, who have evinced their patriotism and spirit by their blood; as were also Van Rensselaer, Bissel, and many others, who have been since distinguished in life.

Eaton, who was an observer of men, and an author, has left us the following description and character of his general:

“He is firm in constitution, as in resolution; industrious, indefatigable, determined and persevering; fixed in opinion, and unbiassed in judgment; not over accessible, but studious to reward merit. He is a rock against which the waves of calumny and malice, moved by the gusts of passion natural to envy, have dashed; have washed its sides: he is still immovable on his base. He is in some degree susceptible of adulation, as is every man who has an honest thirst for military fame. He endures fatigue and hardship with a fortitude uncommon for a man of his years. I have seen him, in the most severe night of the winter of 1794, sleep on the ground, like his fellow-soldiers, and walk around the camp at four in the morning, with the vigilance of a sentinel.”

In high party contests, no eminent man who takes a distinguished part in public affairs, escapes the shafts of calumny—

“Envy does merit as its shade pursue.”

When Washington was the object of unlicensed attack, during the period of his administration, and

* Late President of the United States; inaugurated March 4th, 1841; died April 4th of the same year.

Wayne was commander-in-chief of the army, it would have been no compliment to the latter to have remained free from abuse. But the calumniators, with their calumnies, have gone down to oblivion, while the character of their intended victim, embalmed with that of Washington, rises in unblemished lustre, on the wings of Time, to immortal fame.

The remains of Gen. Wayne were temporarily deposited at Presque Isle, from whence they were removed in 1809, by his son, *Isaac Wayne, Esq.*, to the cemetery of St. David's church, near Waynesborough farm, which is situated in the county of Chester, Pennsylvania, the birth-place, and, previously to the Revolutionary war, the peaceful and favorite residence of the general. A writer, describing the church of St. David,* which is an old and quaint building, says "As a place of worship, its location is peculiarly happy. But not until you are almost upon it, as you approach it, is the unobtrusive little sanctuary seen, peeping from among the trees which conceal it from view—thus, as it were, shutting out the world and all those cares and objects not in unison with the feeling of holy meditation." The writer further says, "There is, however, in this yard, *one* at least whose name fills a conspicuous place on the page of his country's history—a monument more durable than brass. The individual alluded to, is the late Major-General Anthony Wayne, whose dust here peacefully reposes with that of his family, teaching the solemn lesson that 'the paths of glory lead but to the grave.' "

A handsome monument, erected by the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, his beloved companions in arms, attest their affection and his worth.

* More generally known as Radnor church, founded over a century ago by a colony from Radnorshire in Wales.

The south front of the Monument exhibits the following inscription :

In honor of the distinguished
 Military services of
 Major-General
 ANTHONY WAYNE,
 And as an affectionate tribute
 Of respect to his memory,
 This stone was erected by his
 Companions in arms,
 The Pennsylvania State Society of
 The Cincinnati,
 July 4th, A. D. 1809,
 Thirty-fourth anniversary of
 The Independence of
 The United States of America;
 An event which constitutes
 The most
 Appropriate eulogium of an American
 Soldier and Patriot.

The north front exhibits the following inscription:

Major-General
 ANTHONY WAYNE
 Was born at Waynesborough,
 In Chester County,
 State of Pennsylvania,
 A. D. 1745.
 After a life of honor and usefulness,
 He died, in December, 1796,
 At a Military post
 On the shores of Lake Erie,
 Commander-in-chief of the army of
 The United States.
 His military achievements
 Are consecrated
 In the history of his Country,
 And in
 The hearts of his countrymen.
 His remains
 Are here deposited.

**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

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